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CONFIDENTIAL.

Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

Part XVII.

[E 86/86/44] No. 1.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 7, 1929.)

(No. 555.)

Sir, *Constantinople, December 28, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Parliamentary Budget Commission is actively engaged in examining the estimates submitted by the Ministry of Finance for the financial year 1929–30.

2. Revenue as estimated by the Turkish Treasury attains £T. 220,298,300, and expenditure £T. 220,297,268, which, compared to approved estimates for the current year, represent an increase in revenue of £T. 13,125,101 and of £T. 13,127,880 in expenditure.

Revenue.

3. The Ministry of Finance hopes to derive increased receipts from the following sources of revenue:—

	Estimates for 1929–30. £T.	Approved Estimates 1928–29. £T.	Estimated Increase. £T.
Land taxes	15,100,000	13,850,000	1,250,000
Profits tax	14,326,000	13,300,000	1,026,000
Personal tax	1,500,000	1,375,000	125,000
Succession duties ...	350,000	300,000	50,000
Tax on domestic electric lighting ...	325,000	300,000	25,000
Customs	35,000,000	31,000,000	4,000,000
Lighthouse dues ...	750,000	500,000	250,000
Tobacco monopoly ...	23,500,000	22,000,000	1,500,000
Sugar monopoly ...	6,250,000	5,500,000	750,000
Petroleum monopoly ...	6,250,000	5,500,000	750,000
Match monopoly ...	2,050,000	1,760,000	290,000
Spirit monopoly ...	5,800,000	5,000,000	800,000
Posts and Telegraphs ...	7,934,720	7,284,720	650,000
Mint	25,000	3,000	22,000
Stamps	8,750,000	5,600,000	3,150,000
Other taxes	3,153,500	2,356,500	797,000
Sale of State property ...	2,000,000	1,400,000	600,000
Veterinary dues ...	201	100	101
Total			16,035,101

4. It will be observed that the estimated increase is to be mainly derived from customs revenue, the land and profits taxes, stamp duties and monopolies.

5. In establishing these estimates the Minister has been guided by the following considerations :—

Customs Revenue.—The Ministry of Finance concludes that the new tariff, when finally drawn up and applied on the expiration of the commercial convention attached to the Treaty of Lausanne, will represent a general increase in rates of approximately 30 per cent., which is calculated to furnish an increase, based on the customs returns for 1927-28, of £T. 9,300,000. As, however, the Treasury envisages a drop in the volume of trade as the result of increased customs rates, a loss of £T. 5,300,000 is allowed, and, therefore, this sum is deducted from the £T. 9,300,000 to allow for such contingency.

Land Taxes.—The estimated increase of £T. 1,250,000 is based on a new cadastral valuation.

Profits Tax.—This increase is to be derived as the result of a reorganisation of collection services.

Stamp Duties.—From a general increase in stamp duties.

Monopolies—

Tobacco.—This estimate is based on the progressive increase of revenue under State administration.

Sugar and Petroleum.—The same argument applies.

Matches.—The estimate is based on the revenue derived during the first four months of the current financial year, and on the assumption that under Government administration the system of control will be perfected.

Spirits.—There appear to be no grounds for estimating that there will be an increase.

6. Certain estimates of revenue fall short of those approved by the National Assembly for the current year by £T. 2,010,000. They are the following :—

	Estimates for 1929-30. £T.	Approved Estimates 1928-29. £T.	Decline £T.
Exemption from military service	2,100,000	2,500,000	400,000
Transaction taxes	18,650,000	19,650,000	1,000,000
State entertainment tax ...	1,000,000	1,100,000	100,000
Revenue derived from State property	1,000,000	1,400,000	400,000
Obligations	400,000	600,000	200,000
Sale of Government teskeres and other Government forms ...	...	10,000	10,000
Arrears collected on taxes now abolished	1,200,000	2,000,000	800,000
Total ...			2,010,000

7. How far the Minister's estimates will be realised remains to be seen; they appear, however, to incline towards optimism.

Expenditure.

8. The increased expenditure of £T. 13,127,880 is, with the exception of £T. 2,777, covered by the estimated surplus in revenue of £T. 13,125,103. Increased credits have been allocated as follows :—

Public Works: £T. 3,898,840.

9. The total allocation is £T. 36,616,638, as against £T. 32,717,798, approved estimates for the current year.

10. Of the aforesaid increase of £T. 3,898,840, £T. 1,760,000 is earmarked for railway construction, the total allocation of which represents £T. 30,980,000, as against £T. 29,220,000, approved estimates for the current year.

11. £T. 1,925,000 is reserved for irrigation, the total amount allocated for these works being £T. 2,425,000, as against £T. 500,000 approved estimates for the current year, and the balance of £T. 213,840 is reserved for expenditure under different headings of secondary importance.

National Economy: £T. 2,278,644.

12. The total allocation attains £T. 7,273,167, as against £T. 4,994,523 representing approved estimates for the current year.

13. The increase of £T. 2,278,644 is to be earmarked for the following purposes :—

£T. 800,000 for a campaign against locusts and insects such as the boll weevil and other destructive bugs, as well as for cattle-breeding, &c.;
£T. 1,450,000 for the purchase of tractors; and
£T. 28,644 for expenditure under other headings.

Public Instruction: £T. 748,521.

14. The total estimate of expenditure for this Ministry amounts to £T. 8,164,325 against £T. 7,415,804, representing approved estimates for the current year.

Justice: £T. 300,000.

15. The total estimate of expenditure is £T. 5,943,672, as against £T. 5,643,672 approved estimates for the current year.

Gendarmerie: £T. 750,000.

16. This increase is allocated to cover an increase in the strength of the corps. The total estimate amounts to £T. 11,560,577, as against £T. 10,810,577 for the current year.

Health: £T. 1,103,447.

17. To be earmarked for measures against the spread of contagious diseases. The total estimate for this Ministry amounts to £T. 4,500,000 against £T. 3,396,553.

Customs: £T. 300,000.

18. Total estimate, £T. 5,257,372, as against £T. 4,957,372 for the current year.

Interior.

19. The increase of £T. 299,992 in the vote allocated to this Ministry is to be devoted to the reorganisation of the eastern vilayets. Total estimate, £T. 5,612,741, as against £T. 5,312,749 for the current year.

Interior: Public Security.—An increase of £T. 150,006. Total estimate £T. 5,021,648, as against £T. 4,871,642 for the current year.

Installation of Refugees.—An increase of £T. 250,000. Total estimate £T. 1,275,433, as against £T. 1,025,433 for the current year.

Public Debt.—The vote proposed under this heading amounts to £T. 28,015,714 as compared to £T. 13,468,290 for the current financial year, but in the estimates for 1929-30 is included an amount of £T. 12,714,364 to cover State pensions. This vote was, in the budget allocations for the present financial year, included in that of the Ministry of Finance, so that the estimate actually earmarked for debt services is £T. 15,301,350, an increase of £T. 1,833,060. The vote proposed for the exterior debt, £T. 13,631,342, represents an increase of £T. 2,372,388 as compared to the current year, but the credit required for the internal loan shows a decrease of £T. 539,328.

National Defence.

20. The credits allocated to this department do not exceed those of last year as a whole, but it will be observed that the allocation to the land forces shows a reduction compared to the current year.

	1929-30. £T.	1928-29. £T.
Land forces	55,817,510	58,020,390
Air forces	1,702,880	
Marine	6,475,082	5,975,082
Military factories	5,101,336	5,101,336
Map section	736,110	736,110
	69,832,918	69,832,918

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS

[E 92/92/44] No. 2.

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 7.)

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Rome, January 1, 1929.*

SIGNOR GRANDI tells me that his visit to Angora was a success. As he had previously informed me, it had little or no business import, and was simply part of an exchange of courtesies between the Italian and Turkish Governments. Signor Grandi had been received with extreme cordiality and a hospitality which he could only describe as excessive. He had never in his life seen so much hard drinking. Of the two dinners given in his honour, one had lasted three hours and a quarter, and the other three hours and three-quarters, after which Mme. Grandi had collapsed in tears. He was much impressed with the personality of Mustafa Kemal, and also with the immense effort the Turks were making to render Angora a habitable capital. But he must admit that he sympathised with the reluctance of the Italian Ambassador, a reluctance which he had previously been inclined to criticise, to betake himself to Angora more than was strictly necessary. It was, however, clear that there was great difficulty in the Embassies doing business from Constantinople, and the German and Soviet Ambassadors resident in Angora enjoyed a considerable advantage. He felt that sooner or later, although there was no immediate hurry, the Italian Embassy would have to be transferred to Angora.

2. Signor Grandi said that he had given out on his arrival that he had no wish to discuss Turco-Greek relations, but, in the end, he had been obliged to listen to a good deal about them. His impression was that the Turks did not in the least share M. Veniselos's desire to come to terms.

3. Signor Grandi added that he would start on his visit to Athens on the 14th instant.

I have, &c.
R. GRAHAM.

P.S.—I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

R. G.

[E 90/90/44] No. 3.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 7.)

(No. 1.)

Sir, *Angora, January 1, 1929.*

NOTHING further has been made public about the plot upon which I had the honour to report in my despatch No. 549 of the 27th ultimo. Having scotched the trouble the Government now seems resolved to keep quiet about its real character, while deflecting public interest towards the trial of persons at Constantinople only remotely connected with it.

2. No account of the matter can, or perhaps ever will, be given with absolute certainty, but I think the following details which I have from a good source are probably reliable: The leader of the movement at Brusa is said to have been a certain Colonel Pir Mehmed, a Circassian, who was the head of the military recruiting depot there. His confederates were other junior officers, and their plan was to murder Ali Hikmet Pasha, the commandant of the local army corps, and perhaps other senior officers, and then to lead the corps against Angora. The plot is said to have been disclosed by a woman. Colonel Mehmed was no doubt the "Circassian bandit," and the attack on the Brusa gaol was doubtless conducted by his confederates who wanted to set him free. It may be presumed that he has been disposed of summarily. There is still no confirmation of the suggested complicity of the retired generals who used to form the parliamentary Opposition. The plot is said to have evolved from general discontent with the present regime. Whether it was supported by the ex-Imperial family or by other Turkish *émigrés* it is impossible to say. It seems rather to recall the proceedings of 1908 when two junior officers, Major Enver Bey and Captain Niazi Bey, raised the Salonica Army Corps against Abdul Hamid. Another element in the present situation is that, according to my informant at

any rate, a woman, presumably the Kadrié Hanum, mentioned in my previous despatch, got with a revolver as far as the Ghazi's ante-room at Chan Kaya before arousing the suspicions of an aide-de-camp. It must be supposed that she was acting in conjunction with the Brusa conspirators.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 91/91/44] No. 4.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 7.)

(No. 2.)

Sir, *Angora, January 1, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that in pursuance of the regulations outlined at the end of Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 483 of the 1st November last the new alphabet has now been in general use for nearly a month without any great disturbance having been noticeable in the administrative, commercial or private life of the country. Newspapers have a reduced circulation, correspondence in and with official departments takes even longer than usual, and no doubt here is plenty of grumbling all over the country, but the change has been carried through. At Angora and Constantinople it will have been more thorough than at smaller or remote places. To make it more complete "national schools" are being opened to-day wherever possible to enable all adults between the ages of 16 and 40 to acquire the art of reading and writing. By the irony of fate, Nejati Bey, the Minister of Education, to whose energy the measure is due, died this morning.

2. A picture of the general position in the provinces is suggested by a despatch from Mr. Were at Trebizond, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy herein. In one or two respects the view which Mr. Were has had of the local situation at Trebizond seems to have misled him about the general question. The Government hardly flatters itself that discarding Arabic characters will bring the country all the progress which is desired, but it does consider those characters to have been one obstacle in the way of an advance. It is also taking steps to lessen the cumbrousness of the language, to which Mr. Were rightly draws attention. An order has already been put into force abolishing flowery phraseology in official correspondence, and the Ghazi himself has set a fashion for using short sentences, realising, no doubt, that the activity of his countrymen's minds has been trammeled by the need for thinking backwards, which literary Turkish has hitherto imposed. Nor is it correct to suppose that the Government does not take the reform seriously. As His Majesty's Ambassador has already pointed out, it is felt to be a definite modification of the whole religious and cultural tradition of the country.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS.

Enclosure in No. 4.

Consul Were to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 90.)

Sir, *Trebizond, November 21, 1928.*

THE existence in Turkey of a benevolent and beneficent Government, bringing the millennium in its train, is not demonstrated so clearly to the eye in Trebizond as is the case, if press reports are to be trusted, in other parts of this fortunate republic. The fez, in so far as it was red, has disappeared, to be replaced by a variety of headgear, apparently home-made on European models; and the veil is no longer seen to any great extent. But, in other respects, the apparel of the inhabitants can have changed only for the worse, and harmonises well with the dirty, unkempt and ragged aspect of the town in general. Further signs of the altered times must be sought overhead, not underfoot, in the signboards inscribed in the new characters with which the principal streets are quite adequately besprinkled.

2. Yet it cannot be said that the propaganda in favour of the new alphabet has yet achieved here any great measure of success, for the opposition to this latest darling of the Ghazi's fancy, though necessarily underground, is stubborn, and the lavish promises of benefits to come have on the whole reacted to the detriment of the end in view.

3. Taking the population as a whole, it soon becomes evident that there is one factor of discontent with this latest manifestation of the intellectual "Drang nach Westen" common to all classes, literate and illiterate, townsman and countryman, poor or not so poor, alike—it is an unwanted and unwarranted interference with the established order.

4. In the case of the poorer stratum of society, for the most part quite illiterate, there is little to add as to the motives of this aversion. At first, indeed, there seems to have been some half-hearted attempt to acquire a knowledge of the new characters, but this soon died away when it was discovered that they provided no royal road to learning, dispensing the unlettered from fastidious study, as had been broadly and foolishly hinted in their favour. Many of the statements made in the course of this campaign have, indeed, resembled strikingly those familiar patent medicine "puffs" for which the occident must take the blame; as, for instance, the story of the illiterate who, within a month of his first glimpse of the new alphabet, was able to obtain a well-paid Government post. (The incident is perhaps not entirely apocryphal, for the standard of education demanded of Turkish civil servants is not absurdly high). I am almost tempted to withdraw the epithet "foolish" applied to this form of propaganda, for the average illiterate Turk, never having attempted to learn anything, can have no inkling of the fact that such claims are extravagant and is the more easily induced to give the nostrum a trial, and that, after all, is the aim and object of the propagandists. The weak point in the scheme lies, to adopt the simile of a patent medicine, in the proneness of the user to discard a remedy possessing real medicinal qualities on discovering that its effect is not as immediate and miraculous as is claimed by its inventor; precisely as has happened in the present instance.

5. The objections entertained in more sophisticated circles are in the main sentimental. The view held by the educated, property-owning classes is that the main result of this revolutionary move will be to wipe out all memory of the ancient glory that was Turkey, as set forth by Turkish historians (and, the implication is, by them alone correctly) in the old Arabic characters, no other medium than which the written Turkish language has ever known. They admit that with the adoption of the new alphabet school-children will learn to read and write in twelve months, as against two years hitherto, but they say, if it is really essential for the welfare of Turkey that we should assimilate ourselves to Western nations, why stop at the outward form of the language? Why not adopt French as the tongue of the country, since the ideals that our rulers have set before themselves are mainly derived from France?

6. This must, I suppose, be reckoned a childishly obstructive and malicious attitude, but I find it difficult not to sympathise with the state of mind revealed by it. Stripped of all obvious over-statement, the argument in favour of the change appears to emerge as follows: The Turk is backward in education as compared with Western races, not because he is less intelligent than those, but because the use of a highly complicated alphabet, quite unsuited, moreover, for the reproduction of the inflexions of his native tongue, and necessitating years of study, has restricted education to a very small percentage of the population. To increase that percentage and at the same time to raise the general standard of education, all that is necessary, therefore, is to bring into use a new series of characters, fewer in number and simpler in form, which will enable the language to be written phonetically.

7. The logic is reasonably sound, the premises less so. The Turk is in intelligence distinctly inferior to his Western neighbours, or so those on whom his services are forced unanimously assert. If the written language is difficult to master, the difficulty may, with greater justice, be ascribed to its intricate construction, which produces sentences of such inordinate length and breathlessness that even a highly educated Turk from time to time loses his way in a labyrinth of participial clauses. The spoken Turkish language contains sounds which are not reproducible by the Arabic alphabet, it is true; but neither are they reproducible by any other known alphabet; and at least the Arabic characters reproduce correctly the Arabic words, built up on exact mathematical principles, from roots giving an unmistakable clue to their meaning, which alone at present enable Turkish to exist at all as a written language, and which in any other form are with difficulty recognisable. It is suggested that Arabic words will be banished from the language and replaced by purely Turkish vocables, or, in some cases, by words of Greek and Latin derivation, presumably in their French form. "Turk," then, must go, and "Ghazi," too; while if terms such as "university," "hydrogen" and "oxygen" are to convey

immediate meaning to the young republican, the humanities should be included in the curriculum of Turkish schools, and the day should not be far distant when, ancient and modern feuds forgotten, a chair of Greek will be created at the Constantinople University. The Turkish ass and the Arab mare have begotten a mule, an unsatisfactory and unmanageable mount. Let us, say the experimenters, cross our ass with a nobler strain of horseflesh, the progeny will surely be fleeter of foot and more obedient to rein and bit. If at the same time we clip him like a horse, and tell the jockey that he is a horse, we shall soon inevitably head the list of winning owners. I wonder.

8. I should hesitate to indulge in these criticisms and doubtful witticisms were I not more than half convinced that the perfervid advocates of the innovation do not themselves take it very seriously, but look upon it rather in the light of one of a series of "stunts" destined to prolong their enjoyment of the fruits of office. The Angora hat, simplified spelling, standard bread—I do not suggest that these are directly inspired by the study of the pre-war English halfpenny press, but like motives do produce like results, and altruism had no part in the fierce campaign waged on behalf of their British counterparts.

9. To return, after this lengthy digression, to Trebizond. I have been anxiously awaiting the vouchsafement of some sign that the requirements of the law are to be complied with, but so far, ten days before due date, there is no indication of any forthcoming change either in the sufficiently numerous signboards and notices which continue to flaunt their ungodly symbols, or in the columns of the press, which managed to produce, a month ago, with infinite trouble and patience, the heartening, if rather halting, caption "Bes, ING'Ilism" at the head of its serial, and has not yet contrived to improve on that effort. Presumably a respite will be granted in due course; and, from the practical point of view, it does not seem to matter whether the terms of the law are observed or not, since no penalties for non-observance are laid down therein. It is, indeed, an illuminating commentary on the ill-considered haste with which this piece of non-essential legislation has been passed, that no provision has been made for dealing adequately with the recalcitrant.

I have, &c.,

C. A. W. WERE.

[E 223/223/44] No. 5.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 14.)

(No. 5.)

Sir, *Constantinople, January 7, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith notes made by Mr. Trontbeck and Mr. Mallet on a tour which they recently undertook in Southern Anatolia.

2. The route taken was largely identical with that followed in November 1926 by Mr. Leeper and Mr. Helm, whose report on their journey was enclosed in Mr. Heare's despatch No. 605 of the 14th November, 1926, and the difference in the nature of the two reports is some measure of the gulf which divides the Turkey even of two years ago from that of to-day. In 1926 Turkey was passing through a phase of acute nervousness. She had made her voice heard in the councils of the nations, but she was far from sure of her position and was intensely suspicious of Italian designs. To-day all that is changed. She feels that temporarily, at least, her position is secured, and all her energies are devoted to the furtherance of those manifold internal reforms which the Ghazi considers as essential if the young republic is to make good. It is therefore for the light which they throw on the progress which has been and is being made that I venture to commend these notes to your consideration.

3. Nobody, and probably least of all the President of the Republic, would seek to minimise the magnitude of the task which the rulers of Turkey have set themselves in their endeavour to educate an illiterate population simultaneously with the introduction of a new and, certainly in some quarters, a suspected alphabet. But, as these notes show, the work goes steadily forward, while the press never tires of recording the steps taken for the spread of the new alphabet. State and municipal officials, under-secretaries, valis and doorkeepers have to pass the prescribed examination within a fixed period or find themselves out of employment. There are no doubt reactionaries who seek to stem the tide of progress, however superficial that may be at the moment, but the drive goes steadily on, and even the most

pessimistic cannot in their serious moments but agree with Mr. Troutbeck and Mr. Mallet in their conclusion that, if the Ghazi's firm control is maintained for some years more, and if excursions into more dangerous fields than have yet been visited are avoided, a considerable measure of permanent success may well attend the reforming labours of the present Turkish Administration.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 5.

Notes on a Tour in Anatolia in November 1928.

IT is hardly necessary to say that a fortnight's tour in Anatolia is not long enough to form, and still less to allow one to express cut and dried opinions on the likelihood of the present modernising movement in Turkey coming to fruition. Nor was that our object. Our object was to see the people and the country with our own eyes, to see a part at any rate of the country's geographical features and the type, or rather types, of its population, to see at first hand some of the more obvious factors that must chiefly count in the modernising effort, and to observe how far these efforts are yet showing above the surface. This report gathers together in a few brief notes the results of random observations made and recorded during the course of the tour.

Route.

The route taken was as follows:—

November 16: Angora and Constantinople to Kutahia by Anatolian Railway.
November 17: Kutahia to Ushak by car.
November 18: Ushak to Smyrna by Smyrna Cassaba et Prolongement Railway.
November 18–21: Smyrna.
November 21–24: Smyrna to Mersina by Seiri Sefain steamer (Turkish line).
November 24–27: Mersina.
November 27: Mersina to Ulu Kishla by Bagdad Railway. Thence by car to Cæsarea.
November 27–28: Cæsarea.
November 28–29: Cæsarea to Angora by new Turkish Railway.

Sparseness of Population.

The first factor that must strike the attention of any traveller in Anatolia is undoubtedly the extraordinary sparseness of the population as compared with the vastness of the country. This, of course, is so well known as perhaps scarcely to need emphasis. But its importance is such that it can hardly be repeated too often. Wherever the road or railway took us, it was the same story—miles on end of deserted country with nothing to break the monotony but tiny hamlets or, at the most, small villages. This is the first natural condition with which the reformer must contend. It is easy to see how serious a handicap it must be to material progress and, on the other hand, how strongly it must inevitably operate against all efforts towards changing the people's outlook. It cannot be the work of a moment to alter fundamentally the outlook of a villager living in a mud cottage tens of miles away from the nearest so-called town.

But if the new Turkey is to make good, she must in one way or another overcome this fundamental handicap. The territory she has inherited is rich naturally, and she has in the past few years shown her capacity to hold it by force. But if she is to do more than leave it the desert that it now is, and a constant temptation to enterprising neighbours, she must somehow raise the standard, and eventually the numbers, of her population, which is at present bowed down beneath poverty, ignorance and rampant disease. Population, it is true, can grow but slowly even with a prolific people such as the Turks, but, in the first instance, advantage must be taken of this factor. That the present Turkish Government is aware of its

importance is shown by the widespread activities of the Ministry of Health. These have already done much to raise the general level of public health, and, if they are sustained, the death rate finally reduced to a reasonable figure, and a more healthy stock substituted for the disease-ridden people of to-day, the ultimate result cannot fail to be considerable. In the immediate future an inadequate population can to some extent be made good by the use of up-to-date methods of agriculture as is done, for example, in Canada, where a population which falls far short of the official population of Anatolia cultivates half a continent and exports corn abroad; that Anatolia, given equal industry and the enlightenment of her people, could do the same, is proved by history, which tells us that in ancient days it was one of the granaries of the Eastern world.

Education.

It is clear that the leaders of present-day Turkey are aware of the problem, which they seem to be tackling on three chief lines. The first of these is education, and by education is meant not culture for its own sake, which has little interest for them, but effort towards material progress. Republican Turkey is spending more on schools and education than was ever spent in the days of the Sultans. At the moment it is concentrating on tackling the Latin alphabet in the hope, firstly, of bringing an end to the appalling illiteracy of the population, and secondly, of opening for Turks the door to the ideas of the West. It is surprising how far the new learning has already spread. At remote country schools boys will proudly show to travellers their proficiency in A.B.C.; at Smyrna a resident complained that his houseboy neglected all his duties to study the new readers; at Mersina a hodja, though grumbling quietly at this "Giaur" writing, yet encouraged his daughter to learn both the Latin characters and English until, though still grumbling, he was obliged to study them himself; at Cæsarea an ignorant peasant woman was gradually awakening to the realisation that one can talk on paper as well as in the air. The examples are trivial, but in all districts and in all classes the new alphabet is spreading. As yet its spread is perhaps more wide than deep. At Cæsarea, for example, only one man in the post office can read the Latin characters, and to send a telegram the European must wait on his convenience. In some cases it must bring real hardship to officials who are already trying to cope with so much that is new, but in none did we hear doubts as to its inevitability, and the only places where no signs of its advance were to be seen were the stations of the British Aidin Railway, whose names are still hidden in the toils of the Arabic caligraphy.

Security.

The second step in the programme is security, and this step has already been largely achieved in the western half of Anatolia. If the peasant is to produce, he must be secure. For six years now Republican Turkey has known external peace, and these years it has made good by developing the country's internal security. Now as never before can unarmed foreigners travel by day and by night, without escort and without thought of danger, over the long stretches of desolate country miles from human habitation. It is a fact of which the modern Turk is justly proud, and its economic significance must clearly be that the peasant, freed at last from foreign wars, from internal unrest, and from the worst oppressions of the tax-collector, will feel encouraged to produce, not as before only enough to provide for the needs of his own family, but as much as his land will bear.

Communications.

The third point is communications. The peasant must have easy access to markets in order that he may dispose of his surplus products. Railways largely strategic, for there can be little chance of any profit, are now being built across all Anatolia, and roads are under construction in every vilayet. Both the roads we traversed are old main roads of some importance. The road from Kutahia to Ushak is under repair along the first half of its length. Hundreds of men are doing their annual ten days' *corvée*, by means of which the vilayets carry out their programme. The Ulu-Kishla–Cæsarea road is also under repair in places, and travellers are often obliged to leave the *chaussée* for the fields. Even so, little actual work is being done, and in bad weather no car could do the journey. But everywhere the use of motor

traffic is developing. From Kutahia, buses run to Brusa and Tavshanli. At Smyrna, Ford has a service agent to keep in repair the new cars he sells. At Mersina, he has another who has already disposed of fifty of his new cars. At Adalia we saw a car with the number plate of Sparta far up in the hills. From Ulu-Kishla, again, motor buses run to Cæsarea and taxis wait for fares. Unfortunately the art of road-making with the use only of good road-metal is yet to be learnt, and broken springs and cracked chassis will for many years yet bear witness to the fact that the old roads built for arabas and ox-carts will not withstand motor traffic.

Capital and Credit.

To sum up, then, security has been achieved, education and communications are progressing. But at every step reform finds itself faced with the crying need of capital and credit. The Turks themselves realise only too well their weakness. The first remark made by the Vali of Smyrna was to complain that foreign countries would not help Turkey to build her railways, and compelled her to do it out of her own resources. His own town—with the exception of Constantinople, perhaps the wealthiest in Turkey—was an eloquent indication of how small those resources are. In his room at the konak the plaster was still largely off the walls—a result of the earthquake earlier in the year. The heart of the city was burnt in 1922 and still lies in ruins. A start at rebuilding has indeed been made at one corner, and plans are ready for dealing with the rest, but it will be many years before the whole burnt area is inhabited again.

At Mersina the same tale of poverty was heard. An enterprising Swiss had started a market garden in the town, but though the soil is superbly rich, he finds it difficult to sell his products. The "pauvres diables," as he calls them, simply have not the money to spend.

Nationalism.

The difficulties are, naturally enough, made the most of by the foreign residents of Smyrna, who never tire of assuring one, as their brethren do in Constantinople, that the country will never stay the course, that taxation is breaking her trade, and that railways cannot be built out of income. Their views must, however, be received with some measure of reserve. Those of them who lived in the luxurious days of the Capitulations can never forgive the Nationalist Government for robbing them of their privileges. They wrap themselves up in their recollections of the past and brood bitterly on their departed glory. They will know nothing of Angora and can hear no good of it. One of the more generous admitted that Miss Ellison's new book had done him good by putting before him a point of view of which he had never before imagined the existence. But another defiantly asserted that no Turk now enters his house. Will such men do business in Turkey? For, if the Levantine hates the Turk, who has robbed him of his foreign protection, the Turk despises the Levantine, who has so long robbed him of the profits of his trade and then rewarded him with intrigue at every turn, while he both despises and fears a people with such a genius as the Greek for small civic settlements. The memories are all too recent of the Greek enclave at Aivali, of the advance of Greek traders and Greek settlers up the rich valleys of Smyrna. To-day Anatolia has become Turkish land and henceforward the Turk is determined to be his own middleman. The big question, of course, is whether he is going to prove capable of replacing the Greek and the Armenian in the arts and crafts which he has till to-day despised as being beneath a warrior's notice. Now that he has expelled the despised alien races and is forced to rely upon himself, will he learn? The question has still to receive its final reply, but it may be said that he has already shown himself to be less unadaptable than the pessimists predicted. Bungling at first and inexperienced, the Turk has taken on himself a hundred technical tasks. He builds houses and railroads, he drives aeroplanes and cars. Childish he may be, as a child with a new toy, but children do grow up and learn. In a British-owned cotton mill in Smyrna the manager now employs a purely Turkish staff in the place of one which formerly was Armenian and Greek. He asserts—and his judgment is exactly corroborated by that of another British mill manager at Mersina—that the Turk makes a satisfactory artisan. He is patient and obedient and suffers only from the fault of unsteadiness in application, which must be natural to all who leave the farm for the factory. Both managers admitted that technically the Turk was a satisfactory workman.

May not this man learn also the technique of trade? At any rate, his rulers are doing all they can to make him learn, and the foreigner's lot in Turkey is not a happy one. Thus, the Eastern Carpets Company's factory, over which we were taken at Smyrna, has just been driven to give up its last British technical expert—a man of over twenty years' service with the firm—in order that it may benefit by the Encouragement of Industries Law. Similarly, the Smyrna-Aidin Railway Company is being continuously pressed to reduce its quota of British employees. These are only two examples, but the instances might be multiplied.

Diversity of Population.

Turkey, then, is very definitely for the Turks. That is to be learnt at Angora and Constantinople. What is not so often mentioned, but is equally striking to a traveller in Anatolia, is that the Turks are not one but many. One would naturally expect to find the men of the hills differing from the men of the plains, but, now that the Armenians have been largely destroyed and the Greeks driven from the country, it is surprising how clearly one still sees that the Turks are of many stocks, how far the men of Kutahia, for example, differ from those of Cæsarea.

The two towns themselves are entirely unlike. The former wood-built, red tiled, full of trees and running water, crowded with picturesque hill-men and busy market places. The other grey and cold, with flat-roofed stone houses screened suspiciously from the streets, its women impenetrably veiled and its commerce hidden in the dark bazaars. Yet Kutahia and Cæsarea are both completely Turkish. For 3,000 years Anatolia has been a hotchpotch. The Hittite and the Phrygian, the Greek and the Macedonian, the Persian and the Roman, the Seljuk and the Ottoman in turn have ruled the land, and two of them at least have forced their mould upon it and given it a semblance of unity. But none taught Anatolia the meaning of nationality. Now the Great War has given her a new isolation. The Armenian and the Greek are no more; the Kurd has been, temporarily at least, subdued; the foreigner has withdrawn. The Greek war has taught her that the Turks are a people. Differences still remain between the hillman of Kurdistan and the fig grower of the Meander, but a consciousness of unity has been born such as will henceforth unite Turkey in common resistance to the invader. This national unity is new born, but it is the gospel of the Ghazi and its propagation is rapid.

With nationalism so recent a growth, one would expect to find evidence of it in outward manners towards foreigners, more especially in the towns of the interior which are far removed from the outside world. In this, however, one is agreeably surprised. There are no signs of xenophobia among the Turks one meets. From Valis downwards they are all only too ready to be polite, while their effusiveness can even at times be somewhat overpowering. If xenophobia is felt at all, it is at any rate carefully concealed except when directed against the Greeks, and, possibly, also the French, whose tails it is for political reasons desirable to twist at the present juncture. Two medical officers, who were our travelling companions to Ulu Kishla, after repeated but vain endeavours to get us to share their brandy and water at 8 o'clock in the morning, told us that, while they had no desire for another war, they would not object to a smack at the Greeks. Similar sentiments were expressed by an *échangé*, now living at Ada Bazar, who used to inhabit Cavalla. No words he could use were too bad for the Greeks. In fact, he told the same story of their treatment of minorities as one hears on all sides in Constantinople told of the Turks. As regards the French, it seems that they are far from loved in Mersina district, where their forcible expulsion is still remembered with glee, while in Smyrna the authorities have just amused themselves by closing down a French school on the plea that it is conducting religious propaganda, though the particular offence occurred twelve months ago.

Conclusion.

What conclusion, if any, is to be drawn from these notes? They say little that is new, but they may give a few indications of what modern Turkey is at. Here is no would-be aggressor in the Geneva sense of the word. Foreign adventure forms no part of her programme. All her thoughts are concentrated on one object, which, in a word, is westernisation. Nor is such a campaign without precedent in this part of the world. It has been tried before under conditions not too dissimilar from those existing in Turkey to-day. As soon as the mighty Bulgarian Empire accepted

Christianity in the ninth century, advance was rapid and conspicuous. But what was the verdict of history? "Odysseus" tells us in his "Turkey in Europe":—

> "But the first Bulgarian Empire was short-lived. When we contemplate its sudden creation and wholesale adoption of Byzantine institutions, we are forcibly reminded of those modern States in the East which have chosen, or been supplied with, ready-made Constitutions of the most advanced European type. We may doubt if Simeon's rule was really effective in the remoter provinces, or exercised a lasting influence on many of the populations who owned his sway. At any rate, his successor was not strong enough to keep the fabric together."

Is history going to repeat itself on the other side of the Bosphorus—for Constantinople and its hinterland are of very secondary importance in Turkey to-day? He would be a rash man to give a definite answer to this question. Time alone can tell. The experiment is hazardous, Turkey's assets are few and her liabilities great—on the one side a country of great potential wealth, with a people inured to hardship, on the other absence of numbers, of training, of money, in fact, of nearly everything which leads to progress.

But though the scales are heavily weighted against her, the new Turkey is facing her task with courage. Angora has so far, it is true, directed much of her attack to externals, and, in face of oriental traditions, ignorance and superstition, her course is probably not unwise. In making the collar and the bowler *de rigueur* in the capital she is doing more than effecting a change of dress. She is breaking a tradition and so making possible a change of mentality. She is doing so even more by forcing Turkish women out of their seclusion and ignorance and so removing from every family a dead weight of passivity and ignorance. If she can stay the course, there is no reason why success should not crown her labours. To-day that success appears to be dependent more than anything else on the further lease of life of the strong man who guides his country's destinies. Should he be permitted to hold the reins of Government for at least another decade so that his reforms may become an essential part of the life of his people and so be much more than the superficial influence which they are to-day, success may possibly be achieved. If, on the other hand, his firm control is for any reason withdrawn, will not the historian of the future be able to say with Sir Charles Eliot: "His successor was not strong enough to keep the fabric together"?

J. M. TROUTBECK.
W. I. MALLET.

[E 225/225/44] No. 6.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 14.)

(No. 10.)

Constantinople, January 8, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your despatch No. 720 of the 17th ultimo, enclosing a copy of the record of a conversation between Sir E. Drummond and M. Rivas Vicuna, the neutral member of the Exchange Commission here, who, I might observe, is thought to have rather identified himself with Greek interests.

2. In the course of this conversation M. Vicuna made the statement that the real difficulty in the way of a settlement was the desire of the Turkish Government to turn all the Greeks out of Constantinople. It is curious that towards the end of last month various Constantinople newspapers denied the report, whose origin they attributed to the Athenian press, that the Turkish Government had proposed a complete exchange of Constantinople Greeks for Moslems of Western Thrace. Whether the report first appeared in the Athenian newspapers I do not know, but on the 30th December the "Republique" opined that if there were a complete exchange of this kind it would be finished in six months and the Œcumenical Patriarchate would be removed—perhaps to Salonica.

3. On the 1st instant Mr. Edmonds asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs whether there was any truth in these rumours. Tewfik Rushdi Bey replied that there was not, but he proceeded to say that in 1922 the Angora Government considered that the economic loss involved by the Greek exodus was fully compensated by political advantages. There would be no such advantage to-day in getting rid of the

60,000 Greeks remaining in Constantinople. The Turkish Government had shown them firmness in the past; for the future it hoped to conciliate them. Their departure would cause a serious economic disturbance in the country. Nevertheless, if the Greek Government took the initiative of proposing a complete exchange and pressed the proposal, the Turkish Government would perhaps consider it on the express condition that the exchange should be carried out step by step, and that no attempt should be made to complete it all at once. The Turkish Government could not settle 100,000 Moslems in a hurry, nor could the Greek Government easily pay for the properties they would leave behind them in Western Thrace. His desire at present, however, was to establish precisely the amount by which the value of Moslem properties in the rest of Greece exceeded the value of Greek properties in Turkey outside Constantinople, so that there should be no doubt about the sacrifice Turkey would make in accepting the £500,000 already earmarked.

4. Mr. Helm has now had a chance of obtaining the Greek Minister's views. M. Pappa informed him that there was no foundation for the report about a complete exchange. It was merely the echo of a proposal which the Turks had themselves made a long time ago when they believed the Constantinople Greeks to number as many as 200,000. M. Pappa thought that the Turks would have nothing to gain by an exchange if the Greeks of Constantinople were only 60,000 or 70,000 (probably an under-estimate), and he believed the Moslems in Western Thrace to be much wealthier. M. Pappa continued that, in spite of the difficulties made by certain extremists and thanks largely to the goodwill of Tewfik Rushdi Bey, his negotiations were making good progress. He confirmed the latter's statement that the delegates were busy with calculations. These were now complete. Definite proposals for a final settlement would probably be made in the next few days. He hoped that at last a basis of settlement would be reached in a fortnight.

5. In view of the above, I am inclined to think that at the utmost the Turks may have revived the idea of the complete expulsion of the Greeks from Constantinople, not with a view to insist on it in practice, but merely as a tactical move designed to lessen Greek resistance in other respects. It does not seem as if the Turkish Government had any serious intention of reversing the policy finally adopted at Lausanne with regard to Constantinople. Nor does there seem to be any reason why the Turkish Government should now cease to regard the Greek minority and patriarchate as a political pawn which can be used conveniently upon occasion.

6. I should add, while reporting on his question, that the Exchange Commission has recently decided to transfer its headquarters to Gumuldjina, in Western Thrace. This decision was taken at the sole instance of the Turkish delegation, which insisted that the commission had resided long enough in Constantinople and that it was time it saw the conditions on the spot in Western Thrace. The commission found no good enough reason to resist the insistence of the Turkish delegates, though Gumuldjina is sadly lacking in accommodation, whether for offices or dwelling-houses, as well as in the social attractions of Constantinople.

7. I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
(For the Ambassador),
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 248/92/44] No. 7.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 15.)

(No. 11. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P.

Athens, January 14, 1929.

I AM informed privately by Signor Grandi that there appears to be little prospect of a Graeco-Turkish agreement being reached, and that, in his opinion, Greece is much more sincere than Turkey in her desire for such agreement.

(Repeated to Constantinople and Rome.)

[E 296/92/44] No. 8.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 17.)

(No. 18. Very Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, January 17, 1929.*

M. VENISELOS tells me in private conversation that he is still endeavouring to include in a general settlement with Turkey a naval agreement, which I understand would be based on the scrapping of capital ships. He intimated to me that failing such naval agreement Greece would be obliged in self-protection to take delivery of Salamis.

From another reliable source I hear that M. Veniselos has been hanging up order for destroyers in the hope of naval agreement with Turkey rendering that addition to Greek navy unnecessary, but that Greek naval authorities have strongly represented to him the necessity for ordering destroyers whether naval agreement is reached or not and that their views have prevailed. Specifications for destroyer tenders will, therefore, probably be issued within a month.

(Copy by bag to Constantinople.)

[E 333/90/44] No. 9.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 19.)
Sir, *Angora, January 11, 1929.*

IT is perhaps only to be expected that little should be heard here regarding the alleged plot against the present regime, which Mr. Edmonds reported in his despatches No. 540 of the 27th ultimo and No. 1 of the 1st January. What is surprising is that the matter is not even mentioned at all, thus affording still another instance of the divorce between Angora, where confidence is supreme, and Constantinople, where every unfavourable rumour is "broadcast" with all appearance of veracity and with ever increasing local colour.

2. Undoubtedly there was some fire beneath the Constantinople smoke. There seem to have been several minor conflagrations. Of these, that at Constantinople was, as suggested by Mr. Edmonds, perhaps the smallest, and has, for obvious reasons, been allowed to attract most public attention. Much more important was probably that at Brusa, though no revelations regarding its nature have yet been vouchsafed beyond short disconnected press paragraphs, which, when pieced together, show with some measure of certainty that the movement was of a religious nature, and that, in fact, the organisation behind it bore a title so well calculated to attract support as "The Association for the Protection of Religion." It can only be hoped, though not with any degree of confidence, that when the trial of the accused persons takes place further information regarding the nature of their crime will be made public.

3. In the meantime rumour has been busy with reports of outbreaks in other directions. A reactionary military movement was said to have been started at Konia, but details and confirmation are lacking. Then, a few days ago, the "Ikdam" newspaper of Constantinople published, under leaded headlines, a telegram from its Angora correspondent reporting an insurrection of some seriousness at Sivas. Angora was roused to publish a complete official denial, proceedings are being taken against the newspaper, and the enterprising journalist now has a temporary home within the walls of Angora prison.

4. While Constantinople tends to exaggerate the importance of these incidents, they are, when placed against the general tranquillity of the country, seen in their true light, and their immediate suppression confirms a boast made to me by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the central administration is able, by means of its various organisations, daily to feel the pulse of every town and village and, in the public interest, to diagnose and deal with any irregularity which may be noted. In all such cases, said the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Government acted with immediate and admittedly harsh severity, as by so doing it saved itself from having to hang people later on.

5. But though one may recognise the ability of the Government to control these scattered movements, they are not without significance. Since the introduction of the new alphabet and of compulsory education therein, the general inclination has

been to assign this measure as a reason for any discontent, and that the Government realise that it has incurred some unpopularity by sending the whole population back to school is shown by the fact that Ismet Pasha intends to retain in his own hands the portfolio of Public Instruction vacated by the death of Nejati Bey until the schooling of the nation is complete. I may mention also that quite recently the police, who formerly used to inspect the papers of those travelling between Constantinople and Angora, have reappeared on the trains running between the old and the new capital.

6. But, in my opinion, the main cause of unrest lies elsewhere. Of late, the Ghazi and his intimates seem to have been coquetting with the idea of further religious reforms. A radical modernisation of Islam, if not its complete suppression in Turkey, was more than suspected to be under contemplation, and the opposition elements in Constantinople and other places entered upon an insidious propaganda campaign which was so far successful that every second person in Constantinople affected to know that Islam was about to be superseded by Christianity, while the "Ikdam" published an article suggesting that the Turks should observe Christmas. At the same time Yunus Nadi Bey had a leading article in the "Jumhuriet" which could be given a variety of constructions, but which was not improbably an endeavour to prepare the ground for the reforms actually contemplated. It was at this moment, when I was at home on leave, that the "Times" published a telegram, in my opinion premature and ill-timed, from its Constantinople correspondent drawing general attention to the whole business. The Turkish Government was undoubtedly surprised and angry; the expulsion of the correspondent was for a time under consideration, but wiser counsels ultimately prevailed. Yesterday, Mr. Collins informed me that, when he was received by Tewfik Rushdi Bey that morning, his Excellency opened the conversation by saying that he had a *plainte amicale* to make, but that, as matters had turned out, the Turkish Government was actually grateful to him, for his telegram had caused an investigation to be made, which had shown up the opposition activities, and arrests had immediately been effected.

7. I should hesitate to say that Mr. Collins's indiscretion was the direct cause of the recent outbreaks, but it may well have given those who had been inspiring the movement a good text on which to rouse the faithful, and it has certainly played its part in modifying the Ghazi's programme. The premature disclosure of the Ghazi's plans, the discovery that religious feeling is still a thing to be handled delicately, and one other factor have all combined to put the brake on religious reform. So much so that even the substitution of Sunday for Friday as the weekly day of rest, which was to have been brought about last spring and was only deferred to the autumn owing to the superior claims of the alphabet, and to which, on account of its practical advantages, there would quite possibly have been little opposition, has now been relegated to an indefinite future.

8. The other factor is the revolt in Afghanistan. This has caused considerable concern in Turkey, and though leading Turks here are contemptuous of King Amanullah's bungling methods, they are profiting by his experience. When dining with me two nights ago, one of the Ghazi's closest friends frankly stated that, if only King Amanullah had taken the pains to recruit, arm, and adequately pay three regiments of guards, he would have been spared all his present troubles. Mustafa Kemal had not been so foolish. His movement had been started as a completely loyalist one, having as its object the liberation of the Sultan from disloyal and foreign control. Only when he was thoroughly sure of his position did the Ghazi enter upon his policy of reforms. Bluntly speaking, security meant fear. In Turkey to-day there were 30,000 gendarmes. There was fear of the Government in fifty-four provinces, and only 10,000 of the gendarmes were stationed there. The remaining 20,000 were to be found in the few eastern provinces where fear was not yet adequately instilled, and security therefore not yet firmly established. My friend added, somewhat paradoxically, in view of the dress campaign of two years ago, that the Ghazi would not emulate Amanullah's foolishness in interfering with the harem. Deep religious feeling was, he said, confined to such reactionary towns as Constantinople and Brusa, but the Turk remained as jealous as ever of his womenfolk. Reform of the harem must come from within, and the Ghazi was content to let education and increasing enlightenment effect what even he now felt himself unable to accomplish from without.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 334 334 44] No. 10.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 21.)

(No. 20.)

Sir, *Angora, January 13, 1929.*

IN my immediately preceding despatch I reported that the Ghazi had been obliged to stay his reforming hand on the question of religion. The progressive energy of his Excellency is, however, such, that if dammed at one point, it must find an outlet at another, and although the information which reaches me is still vague and unconfirmed, he is believed to be contemplating a measure whereby such big estates as still exist in the country shall be cut up into lots of 1,000 deunums (200 acres) at most, and distributed to the peasants on easy terms. The present owners of large landed property would be compensated, but in view of the condition of Turkish finances, such compensation would probably be even less equivalent to the value of the land than was the case in Czechoslovakia or Roumania.

2. The plan might prove a political success, for the big land-owners may [illegible] three categories. First the new Turkish lords who still hold [illegible] Grand Vizier [illegible] Ministers or Valis, [illegible] two wealthy Egyptians such as the [illegible] Secondly [illegible] of the Greeks and Armenians [illegible] Government [illegible] these people a minimum compensation. Lastly, the [illegible] less, for some of the more enterprising of these proprietors have started agriculture on a large scale with modern machinery, and that would all go by the board. Lastly, there are the Kurdish chiefs in the east, apart from any considerations of equity it would possibly be politically wise for the Government to divide these lands among the members of the various tribes, for such a measure might, by its appeal to self interest, do more than anything else to weaken the feudal allegiance of the tribesmen to their chiefs and keep them settled and peaceful.

3. Turkey is pre-eminently an agricultural country, and any measure that promotes the wealth and prosperity of the smallholders, and to increase their numbers, tends to increase the stability and prosperity of the country as a whole.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 441 92 44] No. 11.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 25.)

(No. 30.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Athens, January 25, 1929.*

MY impression is that little progress is being made with the Graeco-Turkish negotiations at Angora. Greece, according to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, will refuse no reasonable basis of discussion, but it is difficult to believe that the Turks are sincere, since they are constantly changing the basis.

[E 482/225/44] No. 12.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 28.)

(No. 11.)

Sir, *Athens, January 15, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to state, with reference to Constantinople despatch No. 10 of the 8th January, of which His Majesty's Ambassador was so good as to send me a copy direct, that the Greek Government have for long suspected that the Turkish Government employ the suggestion of an expulsion of the Constantinople Greeks as a lever to make Greece more tractable in the long-pending Turco-Greek negotiations. If, as seems very probable, the explanation of the recent revival of this suggestion is that suggested by Sir George Clerk in paragraph 5 of his despatch under reference, the Greek suspicion seems to be fairly well founded.

2. The suggestion, which Tewfik Rushdi appears to have regarded quite seriously, that the Greek Government might themselves propose a complete exchange of the Moslems of Western Thrace for the Greeks of Constantinople, seems to me an astonishing contortion of both fact and probability.

3. I am unable to believe that any such idea has ever even crossed the mind of any Greek Government. The Greek apprehension has for long been lest the Turks should expel the Greeks from Constantinople, and the retaliation to that measure, which they have brought themselves to contemplate, is the expulsion of the Moslems from Western Thrace. In my opinion either this or any other Greek Government would regard the removal of the Constantinople Greeks as a calamity.

4. When last autumn the incidents mentioned in my despatch No. 172 of the 27th November occurred in connexion with the tour of the Mixed Exchange Commission in Western Thrace, the Greek Government were, as I then stated, puzzled to know what motive lay behind the Turkish outburst which succeeded those events. I have since learnt pertinently that the explanation of the motive to which the Greek Government [illegible] to give credence was that the outburst was the prelude of a Turkish manœuvre to force on Greece the exchange of populations between Constantinople and Western Thrace.

5. In my experience the Greeks have [illegible] themselves nervous and apprehensive of any such exchange [illegible] to incredible that they would [illegible] contemplated proposing it.

I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE.

[E 474, 474, 44] No. 13.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received January 28.)

(No. 37.)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of despatch No. 97 from His Majesty's Consul, Trebizond, dated the 24th December, respecting Turco-Russian foreign relations.

Constantinople, January 23, 1929.

Enclosure in No. 13.

Consul Were to Mr. Edmonds.

(No. 97.)

Sir, *Trebizond, December 24, 1928.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the Soviet commercial representative gave a dinner-party on the 20th December to a number of Turkish commercial notabilities of Trebizond.

2. The event is not one that I should consider, in the ordinary course, deserving of being brought to your notice, but it serves as a convenient starting-point for the exposition of views I have been formulating and verifying regarding the general relations of this part of Turkey with the Union of Soviet Republics.

3. In the first place, it is quite obvious, as has been placed on record by my predecessors, that the native of this region preserves grateful memories of the Russian occupation, but I am not prepared to say that this feeling reaches the point of a desire for annexation, or reannexation, by Russia. It is a topic of conversation far too dangerous to be touched on in present circumstances, but I think that the balance of probabilities is against [illegible] shape of good roads, a harbour, and so on—are apt to weigh little as against the sense of foreign domination, the more so when, as in the case in present-day Turkey, all national shortcomings are persistently ascribed to such foreign domination in the past. Moreover, the local Turk is more [illegible] aware, according to the degree of his education, that vast changes have taken place in Russia, and regards the new régime in that

country with considerable suspicion, which is not allayed by periodic effusive references to Russo-Turkish friendship—a state of things which he knows instinctively to be a myth.

4. At the same time certain ties, resulting from geographical proximity, intermarriage, and some degree of community of religious belief, do exist between this portion of the Turkish Republic and the Caucasian elements of the Soviet State, and [illegible] might have been supposed, and I have heard [illegible] that at one time the Directors of Soviet policy did suppose, that the propagation of the tenets of Bolshevism would be facilitated thereby. But the Turk of Trebizond draws a very sharp distinction between Georgians, and Azerbaijants, on the one hand, and what he terms Russians proper, on the other. He believes, with what reason I do not know, that the former are unwilling members of the Soviet body politic and anxious, for the most part, to throw in their lot with Turkey. But though I cannot speak with any certainty on the point, without any definite knowledge of the conditions prevailing across the frontier, it seems to me that, whatever the dissatisfaction with the present Soviet regime, on political grounds, the economic situation cannot be worse than that of North-Eastern Turkey. I gather, indeed, from various sources, that Batum and its hinterland are quite prosperous, which is much more than can be said for [illegible]. I cannot credit the possibility of any movement towards [illegible] as the present economic stagnation endures—a matter, probably, of several years.

5. I believe that Soviet political activity in this district is now entirely confined to entertainments such as that reported in the opening paragraph of this despatch, and to the grant of absurdly lenient terms of payment to purchasers of the goods, generally of very poor quality, which the Soviet commercial delegation has for sale. The excessive willingness to accommodate buyers can indeed be explained [illegible] petrol and cement, only on political grounds, for the proximity of Batum makes it impossible for other producing countries to compete in the comparatively [illegible] trade in these commodities. That political agents, employed solely for the diffusion of Bolshevik propaganda, are at work in the district I do not believe, and the attempt to exert political influence through the medium of commercial exchanges is doomed to failure [illegible] the Turk of this region though not commercially astute is [illegible] through past association with Greeks and Armenians, and is [illegible] by the offer of something for nothing, or nothing more than acquiescence, with mental reservations, in the justice of the Soviet cause.

I have, &c.
C. A. W. WERE.

[E 627/627/44] No. 14.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 4.)

(No. 48.) *Constantinople, January 31, 1929.*

Sir,

ON the evening of Monday, the 21st January, a fire broke out in the Tatavla quarter, north of the Embassy. Everything was in its favour—a huddled mass of wooden houses with narrow streets, the snow concealing the hydrants so that the firemen could not find them, and when they were found a complete absence of water, added to a northerly gale. The result was that between 9 [illegible] that night and 6 o'clock next morning some 400 or 500 houses were burnt, and between 2,000 and 3,000 people, mostly small employees and their families, had lost everything they possessed and were left to face the bitter weather without shelter and without resources. Fortunately, one might even say miraculously, there was no loss of life.

2. My wife, who had spent most of the night watching the fire from the Embassy windows, was not unnaturally moved at the thought of the appalling distress that it would cause, and visited the Tatavla [illegible] to get some idea of the calamity. What she saw there so roused her sympathy that she forthwith [illegible] friends and raised some funds with which to help towards meeting such immediate necessities as food and blankets.

3. The prefecture and the Red Crescent were at once informed by my wife of what she had done, for which they warmly thanked her, and gladly accepted this contribution to the calls that would be made upon them to relieve the distress caused by the fire. Both authorities, the prefecture and the Red Crescent, fully realised that

my wife's action was only a supplement to their own efforts and in no sense intended to be in any way independent.

4. On Friday, the 25th January, the "Aksham," one of the local evening papers, came out with an early edition, in which most of the front page was occupied by an article from [illegible] in Angora, signed in Sa'ik in block letters accusing me of having visited the Greek sufferers (Tatavla happens to be largely inhabited by local Greeks) and got into [illegible] with the Greek bishop, and asking what were my intentions in thus sowing dissension between the various nationalities in Turkey.

I at once telegraphed to Nejmeddin Sadik, who is also [illegible] newspaper proprietor, to say that I had not visited Tatavla, that I had not spoken to a single victim or to any Greek bishop, and that my wife's action was dictated by a natural feeling for suffering humanity and had been accepted as such by the proper authorities, the prefecture and the Red Crescent, with whom she was working in complete [illegible] the same publicity as the attack charged against me.

[illegible] copy of my telegram to the Stambul office of the "Aksham," and I also telegraphed it to Mr. Roberts at Angora with instructions at once to go to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, if [illegible] available, to the Prime Minister, and to express my surprise and regret that anyone in the responsible position of a Deputy belonging to the Government party should [illegible] such [illegible] against a foreign representative [illegible] and I expected his Excellency to take up my [illegible].

[illegible] next morning I received a telegram from the editor of the "Aksham," [illegible] fully accepting my statements, and sending an expression of his gratitude and his respectful salutations to my wife, and both the Angora and the Constantinople editions of the paper had on their front page the greater part of my message and a formal expression of thanks for my action, which is perhaps as near a spontaneous apology as one could expect. Moreover, on the following day, the "Aksham" published my telegram in full, with further grateful allusions to my wife [illegible].

5. Mr. Roberts had arranged to see Tevfik Rushdi immediately on receipt of my telegram, but his Excellency was kept at a meeting of the Cabinet, and could only see him at [illegible]. Mr. Roberts reported that his interview with the Minister was [illegible] friendly and that his Excellency said that when the editor of the "Aksham" received my telegram he asked Tevfik Rushdi what he should do, and the latter had replied that he should accept the explanation unreservedly and give it full publicity. Mr. Roberts also learned that Ismet Pasha had sent for the editor of the "Aksham" and that it was under the direction of the Prime Minister that the editor's telegram of thanks to me had been sent. The incident can thus be considered as satisfactorily closed.

6. At first, I was inclined to the view that Nejmeddin Sadik would not have launched his attack without encouragement from headquarters, for the Turkish press very rarely takes a step without first ascertaining that it would not be frowned upon. But, on reflection, I do not think that this was so in this case. The day before the "Aksham" article, the Government "Milliet," in its account of the fire, had a casual statement that it was said that I had visited the devastated quarter. There was no implication in this report of [illegible] being a normal instance of interest and sympathy. Nejmeddin Sadik, however, whose sales have been going down [illegible], seems to have jumped to the conclusion that here was an opportunity [illegible] to have a little [illegible] or enquiry. The attitude of the rest of the Turkish press, as well as that of Ismet Pasha and Tevfik Rushdi, shows that they were completely taken by surprise and have given no encouragement whatever to Nejmeddin Sadik's insinuations. Indeed, Tevfik Rushdi said to Mr. Roberts that the incident had really been a good *reclame* for the Embassy.

7. I feel, therefore, that one need not look on it as in any way a manifestation [illegible] and that [illegible] may be most distorted versions [illegible] in the Turkish press and [illegible] questions in Parliament, [illegible] very near the [illegible] in the body [illegible].

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 812 92 44] No 15.

Sir P. Lorraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 14.)

No. 46. Confidential.)

Sir, *Athens, February 4, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour, with reference to my despatch No. 26 of the 19th January, and to the last sentence of the second paragraph under the heading "Turkey" of the "Weekly Summary of Events" No. 21 of the 11th January, 1929, to inform you that, according to a statement made to Mr. Atenley by M. Lambrakis [illegible] are convinced that Angora is raising difficulties in connexion with the [illegible] Turkish negotiations with the ulterior aim of breaking those negotiations off at an opportune moment and of finding in this way a pretext for expelling the whole Greek population of Constantinople. The Greek Government were rendered impotent in the face of this menace by the fact that their means of retaliation were feeble, seeing that, whilst there were 200,000 Greeks in Constantinople, there were only about 60,000 Turks in Thrace, and whilst the value of the property of the former was very considerable that of the latter was relatively small. Further, the Constantinople Greeks [illegible] population, whilst the Turks of Thrace were agrarian, and [illegible] from a superabundant urban population and needed [illegible] therefore, of nearly 250,000 town-dwellers would present a terrible problem [illegible] Greek Government to deal with and would prove an intolerable burden [illegible] otherwise.

2. For these [illegible] M. Venizelos was now anxious to [illegible] keep the negotiations going for as long a period as [illegible] the evil day might be postponed as long as possible.

3. The information available to M. Lambrakis is usually so accurate that his opinion in regard to the course of action likely to be followed by the Greek Government cannot be lightly disregarded. On the other hand, even making allowance for the [illegible] which often surrounds both the motives and the application of Turkish [illegible] as well as the processes of [illegible] the Turkish Government are deliberately aiming at the eviction of the Constantinople Greeks. A measure of that kind could hardly fail to involve complications of a pretty serious kind which Turkey, in her present state, can hardly be desirous of provoking. I can quite conceive, however, that the Turks may find in a veiled threat to eject the Constantinople Greeks a quite convenient and even a congenial lever for rendering the Greeks more tractable in regard to the financial aspects of the properties dispute.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE.

N 1059 1015 38 No. 16.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 15.)

(No. 16.)

(Telegraphic.) P. *Constantinople, February 1[illegible], 1929.*

ACCORDING to very persistent reports during the past two days, Trotsky, who has taken the alias of Stebor, with his family and under the surveillance of four Ogpu policemen, has arrived in Constantinople. The Turkish press is not positive and makes reserves, but the correspondent of the London "Times" is convinced. The Soviet naval attaché, on the contrary, states the rumour to be quite without foundation.

[E 902 31/44] No. 17.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 52.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 4, 1929.*

IN his despatch No. 533 of the 11th December, 1928, Mr. Edmonds had the honour to inform you of the conclusion of an agreement for the repurchase of the Anatolian Railway by the Turkish Government.

2. The details of this agreement are now available and the commercial secretary to this Embassy has obtained confidentially a copy of a summary which the Ottoman Bank has sent to the boards in London and Paris.

3. It will be seen from the copy of the memorandum which is enclosed* that the agreement consists of four conventions:—

(i) The first of these is between the Turkish Government and the representatives of the Banque des Chemins de Fer orientaux de Zurich, by which the Turkish Government becomes the owner of the "portefeuille" of the bank. This consists of some 65 million Swiss francs worth of the shares and debentures of the Anatolian Railway Company, the Mersina Adana Railway Company and the Haidar Pasha Port Company. As the value of all the shares and debentures issued by these three companies amounts to 274 million Swiss fr. the Turkish Government, by this transaction, becomes the owner of [illegible] million Swiss fr. [illegible] Anatolian Railway Company, the whole block of shares of the Mersina Railway Company, [illegible] nearly 90 per cent. of the shares of the Haidar Pasha Port [illegible]. The Turkish Government undertakes to pay for this [illegible] the sum of 46,750,000 Swiss fr., in five annual [illegible] Swiss fr., or £T 3,700,000.

(ii) [illegible] between the Turkish Government and the Anatolian Railway Company. The Turkish Government secures the whole line, rolling-stock, property and shares owned by the company and the right of option claimed by the company on the repurchase of the Bagdad Railway shares held by the Reparation Commission, and undertakes, in return, to meet the cost of the arrears due since 1919 for interest and amortisation, and of the amortisation of all shares and debentures remaining in the hands of the shareholders. All payments of arrears, amortisation and interest are to be made on a 50 per cent. basis, *i.e.*, the shares will be paid off at 50 per cent. of their nominal value and interest, until amortisation, will be paid at the rate of 2½ per cent. instead of at 4½ per cent. The total payable to the company amounts to 445,757,500 Swiss fr., or £T. 177 million. This sum will be paid to the Deutsche Bank in Berlin, in the name of the company, in quarterly instalments of varying amounts until the year 2002. It is estimated, however, that, in view of the interest accruing to the Turkish Government in respect of the shares purchased by it from the Zurich Bank and the Anatolian Railway Company, the net amount of £T 30 million may be deducted from this sum, reducing the total commitments of the Turkish Government in regard to the purchase of the Anatolian Railway to £T 147 million.

(iii) The third convention is between the Turkish Government and the Mersina Tarsus Adana Railway, which is at present exploited by a French company. The Turkish Government becomes the owner of the whole property of the company and agrees to pay the sum of 6,157,323 Swiss fr., or about £T 2,443,000. This sum covers the amortisation of the outstanding shares and the payment of arrears due—both on a 50 per cent. [illegible] the 31st December, 1957. As the Turkish Government has already bought [illegible] the Zurich Bank all the preference shares and nearly half the debentures of this company, and from the Anatolian Railway

* Not printed.

85 per cent. of its ordinary shares, the interest accruing to it will considerably lessen the actual amount it has to pay.

(v) The last convention is between the Turkish Government and the Haidar Pasha Port Company. The Turkish Government obtains the property of the company and all its rights over the port of Haidar Pasha, together with the rights of exploitation of the port of Alexandretta. In return the Turkish Government will pay, in quarterly instalments over seventy-three years, the sum of 34,718,470 Swiss fr., or about £T. 14 million. Of the 10 million Swiss francs worth of shares issued by this company the Turkish Government has already acquired all but 93,750 Swiss fr. worth, and its annuities on this count will also be much reduced. Payments of interest and arrears made under this convention will similarly be on a 50 per cent. basis.

4. It is, in fact, estimated in this memorandum that the net annual responsibilities of the Turkish Government will amount to some £T. 7 million or £T. 8 million. As guarantee for the payments due to the three companies the Turkish Government has pledged the receipts coming to it from these enterprises. The Agricultural Bank of Turkey guarantees the five annuities by which the sum due to the Zurich Bank is to be liquidated.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 903/903/44] No. 18

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 53.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 5, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith my annual report on the heads of missions in Turkey in 1928.

2. The completion of the new hotel in the capital has considerably weakened the excuse with which certain of my colleagues formerly defended their unwillingness to leave Constantinople, and even the most sceptical among them have now come to recognise the inevitability of Angora.

3. The construction of Legations proceeds but slowly. The seven first buildings of the German Embassy have been completed, and the staff has now been definitely installed at Angora. There are some who mock at the extravagance which allows this erstwhile bankrupt State to erect a model village at the cost of nearly 3 million marks, and that without the Ambassador's residence—but all must admire the ability with which the Ambassador, in whose honour it is known as "Nadolnyhutte," has contrived to arrange his transfer to a more comfortable capital.

4. The French Government has constructed an office building in the town, being persuaded thereto by the cunning offer of the Catholic Fathers, who, having been refused permission by the Turkish Government to erect a chapel, ceded their plot of land to the Embassy on the understanding that a chapel should be included in the official building. M. de Chambrun has a villa wherein the futurist mural decorations of a member of his staff clash unpleasantly with the gilt furniture of the *garde meubles*, and where he proposes to reside until such time as the new Embassy shall be built. This will not be in the immediate future, for the site which had previously been offered to the French Government has since been appropriated by the General Staff, and a new site has yet to be chosen. A similar action on the part of the municipality, who have erected a school on the site selected by the Hungarian Minister for his residence, has not had the same deterrent force, and the Hungarian Government has, I learn, recently allotted £10,000 for the erection of a Legation somewhat further down the hill.

5. Work on the Polish Legation advances slowly owing to lack of credits, but it is unlikely that Mme. Olszowska will long endure the discomfort of the limited accommodation and the single bath room of her present house.

6. The Italian Government by contrast is prepared to spend 20 million lire upon a new construction, but for the moment seems unwilling to take the final plunge into Anatolia. The fact that the Government already owns three Embassies in Constantinople would, one might think, give further cause for hesitation. The other missions are more humbly content to lodge in hired villas or in flats in town.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 18

Reports on Heads of Missions.

AMBASSADORS.

Russia.

(M. Jacques Souritz, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 13th June, 1923. Since the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic I have had no intercourse with M. Souritz beyond the exchange of polite greetings when we meet on official occasions. 1927).

Germany.

(Herr Rudolf Nadolny, fully accredited Ambassador, presented credentials on the 31st March, 1925. Herr Nadolny is little loved either by the Turks or his staff or his colleagues. His overbearing tactlessness estranges the Turks, his lack of consideration estranges his staff, while these qualities added to a doubtful loyalty naturally [illegible] to his colleagues. So far as Turkey is concerned, he will go down [illegible] one of the chief protagonists of new Angora, whether the German Embassy was officially transferred in December of this year.

There were well-founded reports in the latter part of the year that Herr Nadolny was to be transferred to another post, Moscow and Rome being mentioned in this connexion. Nevertheless he is still among us.

Italy.

(M. Luca Orsini Baroni, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 3rd November, 1925. My hopes of finding M. Orsini Baroni an agreeable and level-headed colleague have been amply fulfilled. He is always ready to give me any information either about his own dealings with Tewfik Rushdi or about matters Turkish in general. 1927.)

United States of America.

(The Hon. Joseph Grew, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 12th October, 1927. The agreement signed between the American and Turkish Governments during the course of the year led to the replacement of Admiral Bristol by Mr. Joseph Grew. The latter was accompanied by his wife and two daughters, one of whom is grown up. Like him, they are pleasant and good to look upon, and have made a welcome addition to Constantinople society. 1927.)

Mr. Grew is a loyal colleague and a great gentleman, and is deservedly respected alike by the Turks and by the American and foreign communities.

Afghanistan.

General Gulam Djeilani Khan, who had come to this country as Minister in February 1926, was promoted to Ambassadorial rank after King Amanullah's visit to Turkey in May 1928. He presented his credentials on the 25th September. My acquaintance with this gentleman has not increased since last year.

France.

M. Emile Daeschner was succeeded in July by Comte Charles de Chambrun, who presented his credentials on the 28th September, 1928. M. de Chambrun has not an easy task in Turkey, having been sent here with instructions to maintain a strong

attitude over a question that of the Turco-Syrian frontier upon which the Turkish Government is equally determined not to give way. Consequently, though he is never at a loss for a flattering word when public occasion demands it, and though he is obviously anxious to impress friends and enemies alike with the cordiality of his affections he has his work cut out to make his stay in Turkey of great profit either to himself or to his country.

M. de Chamorin was, I understand, promoted to Ambassadorial rank over the heads of some of his colleagues on condition that he spent the greater part of the year at Angora. One of his first acts on arrival, therefore, was to buy a house at the capital. After a few weeks' residence there, however, he fell seriously ill and had to return to Constantinople to recover. He is now undergoing a cure in France. M. de Chamorin is unmarried.

Persia

Mohammed Ali Khan Feruki, fully accredited Ambassador, presented his credentials on the 21st October. Feruki Khan, who, in addition to being Ambassador in Turkey, is Persia's representative to the League of Nations, did his utmost to avoid being permanently posted to this country. The long drawn out negotiations for a frontier agreement, which even yet are hanging fire, have disgusted him with the Turkish Republic and all its ways. Though appointed Ambassador early in the year, he was not vouchsafed the satisfaction of signing the additional protocol annexed to the Turco-Persian Treaty of Amity which was negotiated in Tehran and signed there on the 15th June, 1928.

MINISTERS

Roumania

(M. Georges Fidality, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 20th April, 1924. M. Fidality has finally had to overcome his openly expressed dislike of Angora and to pay occasional visits to the capital for the purpose of carrying on negotiations for the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Roumania and Turkey. His jovial comments about the capital have lost none of their pungency. 1927.)

Hungary

M. Tany de Talvar et Turkeo, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1924.

M. de Taly's impatience of the ways of the Turk does not diminish.

Austria.

(M. Auguste Kral, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1924. I have nothing to add to my predecessor's estimate of M. Kral, who with his wife and grown up daughter are pleasant enough colleagues though inclined to stop on at lunches and dinners long after the other guests, who are waiting for them to leave first, have ceased to enjoy themselves. 1927.)

Sweden

(M. Wallenberg, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 1st August, 1925. M. Wallenberg has not no opportunity of airing his Turcophil views or encouraging visitors interested in the rege their connexions with the country he represents. [illegible]

His wife's deafness is to some extent made up for by her unheralded and extensive charity. 1927.)

Spain.

(Don Juan Servert y Vest, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 3rd August, 1925. I regret that I have had but little contact with the hermit of Bayuk-Deré, but, at such times as I have seen him, M. Servert has appeared to be pleasant and jovial. 1927.)

Netherlands.

(Baron de Welderen Rengers, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th August, 1925. Sir R. Lindsay reported on Baron Rengers in the following terms:—

"(Baron Rengers's last post was at Rome. Unlike the majority of one's diplomatic colleagues in Constantinople, he bears the hall-mark of a diplomatist *de carrière*. He does not approve of Constantinople as a post. He is fond of wine, and after dinner can be very diverting. Owing to the Dutch Legation being in charge of Austrian interests he has a certain amount of work to do, otherwise most of his time is spent in frequenting places where he can get the opportunity of a drink or of seeing a pretty woman. 1923.)

"(A lascivious fellow; a light weight. Mme. Rengers talks too much about her domestic difficulties. 1924.)"

I agree with my predecessor's estimate. 1927.)

Czechoslovakia

M. Milos Kobr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 15th January, 1926. M. Kobr retains his love of a horse and of physical robustness, and Mme. Kobr still continues to cook the cakes for her fortnightly receptions during the Angora season.

Bulgaria

(M. Theodore Pavloff, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 5th May, 1927. M. Pavloff and his wife are favourable representatives of their country. He was, I understand, at one time a member of the Turkish Assembly in the Committee of Union and Progress days, an experience that no doubt helps him in in his task. 1927.)

Yugoslavia.

M. T. Vl. Taditch presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 23rd January, 1928. His [illegible] impressions favourably but his appearances in Turkey have been rare, and I understand that he will not return. No other member of his Legation is known to me.

Greece

M. J. Papa presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 29th March, 1928.

His time has been completely absorbed by discussions at Angora or visits to Athens for fresh instructions on the Turco-Greek difficulties, and I have scarcely seen him at all. He is unmarried.

Denmark

M. O. C. Mohr, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 2nd April, 1928.

My acquaintance with M. Mohr has been too slight as yet to enable me to overcome a slight prejudice against him born of the unpleasant reputation which he brought from Rio. Mme. Mohr is known to me only by her flaxen hair and glittering jewels.

Belgium.

M. Louis Leclercq presented his credentials as fully accredited Minister on the 11th June, 1928. M. Leclercq was formerly counsellor in Rome where he acquired a devotion to all the amenities of town life, which—were it not for the distraction of bridge—would make his annual four months' solitude at Angora rather hard for him to bear. He is simple and very friendly and is unmarried.

Poland

M. C. Olszowski presented his credentials as fully qualified Minister on the 25th October, 1928. M. Olszowski hoped to be compensated for his transfer from

Berlin to Angora by obtaining Ambassadorial rank. This hope has not yet been fulfilled, but the Minister continues to talk politics and Mme. Olszowska remains cheerful.

Iraq.

Saluh Bey Nishat presented his credentials as the first Irak Minister to Turkey on the 25th October, 1928. He still maintains the close connexion which he established with this Embassy on arrival and is always genial and friendly. His intimate connexion with many of the leading Turks through school and army enables him to obtain a good deal of useful information, though sometimes I have an idea that some of what he passes on had been expressly intended for my ears. He works sincerely for the good relations of his country with Turkey and does not hide his admiration for the reforms effected by the Ghazi.

Egypt.

Ibrahim Ratib Bey, fully accredited Minister, presented his credentials on the 25th October, 1928. Ibrahim Ratib Bey belongs to one of Egypt's wealthiest families, of Turkish origin. He showed pronounced pro-Turkish sympathies in 1914 and was a brother in arms of the Ghazi during the Dardanelles campaign. On his return to Egypt he became an ardent Zaghlulist. He is extremely civilised, talks excellent French, and is married to an attractive Turkish lady. Ibrahim Ratib Bey is also accredited to Sofia and Bucharest.

Switzerland.

M. Henri Martin has been raised to the rank of Minister and presented his credentials on the 11th November, 1928.

While in Angora M. Martin is invaluable for obtaining information on points of detail and prides himself on the number of despatches which he writes to Berne. In Constantinople he is driven to circularise his colleagues, while on Turkish breeds dogs in England. M. Martin would like to be taken for an Englishman.

Vatican.

(At such times as I have met Mgr. Rotta he has shown himself to be affable and cordial. He is shrewd and credited with a good insight into Turkish affairs and behaviour. 1927.

CHANGES IN AFFAIRS.

Japan.

As was anticipated in last year's report, Mr. Y. Obata left Turkey for good in October 1928. His successor has not yet been appointed. The Embassy has, meanwhile, been in charge of the first secretary, Mr. H. Ashida, who makes up for his country's lack of political interest in Turkey by studious attention to social activities. Whether on the golf course or on hunt at a Christmas-tree party, Mr. Ashida is one of the [illegible].

Albania.

M. Rauf Fitso left Turkey on the 23rd August on his appointment to Belgrade. The elevation of Ahmed Zogu to the throne has been regarded with disfavour by the Ghazi, who withdrew his Minister from Tirana. Accordingly no successor has been appointed to take M. Fitso's place and the Legation is in the charge of M. Jajuli.

Constantinople, February 5, 1929.

[E 904/92/44] No. 19.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 54.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 5, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 49 of the 31st January last I had the honour to refer to the optimism expressed by the chief Greek delegate on the Mixed Exchange Commission as to the eventual outcome of the negotiations now proceeding between Turkey and Greece at Angora.

2. In conversation with a member of my staff, the Greek Minister recently declared that he shared this optimism. It was true that the Turks retarded the progress of the negotiations by constantly changing the basis of discussion, but he attributed this not to any actual ill will so much as to the mercurial temperament of Dr. Tevfik Rushdi and the intervention of the Turkish Minister of Finance.

3. Apart from conversations of subsidiary importance on the question of the "établis," the present negotiations had been concerned solely with the problem of the property of the non-exchangeables. The Greek estimate of the value of these properties had been approximately: Greek properties, £10 million; Turkish properties, £8 million, while the Turkish estimate had been: Greek properties, £13 million; Turkish properties, £16 million. The whole basis for both calculations was obviously theoretical, and conversations had centred round the question whether the Greeks, to secure a settlement, should pay the Turks the sum of £500,000 as the latter demanded, or some lesser sum, as the former offered to do.

4. The Turkish delegate on the commission had, in deference to the views of Surraya Sabri Bey, then introduced a change into the basis of negotiations by proposing that urban properties should be excluded from the scope of the arrangement, in return for which the Turks seemed prepared to accept a lesser sum. They maintained that they had no idea of the value of these properties and were not prepared to sink them in the general settlement without knowing what claims they might afterwards have to meet from their nationals. For the same reason, however, the Greeks were loath to accept an obligation of whose extent they were ignorant. Mr. Roberts understands that their delegates are trying to collect information on this point and will then be better able to take the Turkish proposal into serious consideration.

5. In spite of this new difficulty, M. Pappa expressed himself still optimistic as to the issue. The prospect of receiving a substantial cash payment as soon as agreement could be reached did not seem to offer any attraction to the Turks, for this sum would, they declared, simply be devoted to meeting various claims. Unlike the Greek Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha himself was not taking any personal share in the negotiations so long as the financial question was still under discussion, but the Turks were undoubtedly sincere in their desire to reach a settlement, if not as anxious for it as the Greeks themselves.

6. M. Pappa scouted the recent suggestions in the press to the effect that Italy was about to resume her activity in favour of a triple pact. There was nothing more that she could do at present. M. Grandi, when in Angora, had let it be understood that Italy was interested in seeing a settlement reached, but he, too, had obtained the impression that the Turks were less anxious to come to an agreement than were the Greeks.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 909/335/44] No. 20.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Received February 19.)

(No. 60.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 9, 1929.*

DURING my recent visit to Angora the friendly attitude of the President, Ministers and other important Turks was very noticeable, but I am sorry to say that it has been succeeded by a wave of xenophobia, which for various reasons has been directed chiefly against Great Britain.

2. The causes for this stirring of Turkish sentiment are hard to assign definitely. Certain accidentally coincident events have combined to rouse Turkish nationalism never very dormant but these events are in themselves so trivial that they would seem to furnish an excuse rather than a reason. Among them may be mentioned an article in the Times correspondent about Turkish doctors in itself little more than a repetition of certain stories in the Turkish press and various developments of the incident of the Tatavla fire on which I reported in my despatch No. 48 of the 31st January last.

3. As regards the latter, the Turkish press has fully accepted my position and made no further attack upon me, but it would seem that the Greek press has had references to the Hellenism of the Tatavla quarter which have kept controversy alive, while an alleged shortage of water was immediately and without investigation attributed to the French Dercos Water Company, and a report, as far as I know unjustified, that there was undue delay in telephoning the news of the fire to the fire brigade was made occasion for bitter attacks on the telephone company, the capital of which is practically all British. All of this has developed into a violent press campaign against the [illegible] and mismanagement of all the "foreign companies" in Constantinople [illegible], indeed the convenience and comfort of [illegible] generally denied. Yet the Dercos Water Company, the telephone company, the tramways, [illegible] electric light companies, these both administered by Belgians and the [illegible] Anglo-French, have been almost in unmeasured [illegible] and of the British Chamber of Commerce at its last meeting decided that all members of the chamber should cancel their subscriptions and withdraw their advertisements from the Government paper, the "Milliet," which has been conspicuous in its attacks. The council, moreover, proposed to get the French and Italian chambers to adopt the same line. When I learned of this, I pointed out that the "Milliet," already subsidised by the Government, would have no difficulty in obtaining an increase of subvention sufficient to meet the loss of revenue which such action might cause, and would receive a first-class advertisement for its anti-foreign campaign. I also observed that the other chambers would probably let the British chamber down if and when the Turks began to give practical effect to their resentment. I understand that the British Chamber of Commerce has in consequence modified its attitude. The proper people to meet these attacks are the companies affected. They are, nominally, Turkish companies, with Turks on their board, and they can present their case to the "Milliet" and to the Ministry under whom they work. There is no doubt that there is some foundation in the Turkish complaints, more especially in regard to the water supply, but in the case of all the companies the difficulties arise mainly from the fact that the Turkish authorities will not agree to reasonable conditions upon which alone the companies can raise the necessary fresh capital needed to make them adequate to the present requirements of the city.

4. Possibly all this may be nothing more than an outburst of grumbling, accidentally made acute by the strong lights and shadows thrown on the municipal services by the Tatavla disaster, and the storm may die down after the usual declarations of the Turkish authorities that they will insist on vigorous reforms which will never be carried out.

5. The hard weather which we are now experiencing has incidentally furnished the Turks with a fresh complaint against a foreign company. The pitifully futile efforts of the Oriental Railway Company, a French concern, to dig out the three Simplon Orient expresses and various other big trains, snowed up between here and the Bulgarian frontier, have naturally set the question why there were no proper steam snow ploughs available, and the answer has been found that the Turkish authorities had suggested to the company last year that such ploughs should be obtained, and the company replied that the snow was never bad enough on the Turkish railway system in Europe to call for such expenditure. The unfortunate passengers, whatever their nationality, probably share the Turkish complaint.

6. Far more serious than all these recriminations have been the attacks and innuendoes, led by the "Milliet," levelled at British policy in Afghanistan. As I said in my despatch No. 46 of the 30th January last, the Turks have put all their money on Amanullah, the apostle of Turkish progress, and are not hampered by any scruples in their attempts to cover the possibility of his failure, and as, according to them, all that is best in Afghanistan has long been sighing for reform and modernisation and is one with Amanullah in his efforts, the thwarting of these noble ideas must be due to some extraneous influence. Obviously that influence can only be British imperial policy.

6a. The comments which the Turkish press are making on the situation in Iraq are all couched in a similar strain. Thus, in the "Milliet" I read that despatches from a British source speak of a dictatorship to be proclaimed by King Feisal, news which the "Milliet" professes to believe true, for this system of dictatorships is a remedy discovered by the English, as is shown in Egypt. The English foster the interests of kings so as to have them on their side when Parliaments and the press rise against them. In another issue the "Milliet" gives a report from Moscow that, in consequence of Amanullah's victory, the British Minister at Kabul has decided to withdraw. The paper says that at first it did not believe this, but that it has now learnt from London that it has been decided to recall Sir F. Humphrys. "Thus, it continues, "one understands better the important part played in all this sad business by this diplomatist, who was at his post at the moment when insurrection and reaction affected the country, but finds himself obliged to leave in consequence of the victory of the lawful Government. After having suppressed the revolt, the Afghans will have to thank long over his support."

7. The "Milliet" of the 7th February contained a declaration made by my Afghan colleague in Angora protesting against the arbitrary and illegal action of the Government of India since British aeroplanes flying over his free and independent country. What I wished the Ambassador to recognise is the right of a country to all works necessary to fly in the sky of another country which is fighting within its borders for [illegible]. To-day the "Milliet" corrects on this important official declaration and says that the Government of India has from the start of the trouble set out to have the Emir consider Afghanistan as a State under the sovereignty of England.

8. It is unnecessary to multiply instances. It is more important to discover what is at the back of it all. The Turkish press, least of all the "Milliet," would not let itself go like this unless it was sure of the acquiescence, if not of the practical encouragement, of the Government. But I find it hard to believe that all the professions of the Ghazi, of Ismet Pasha, and of Tevfik Rushdi mean nothing, not because I have any profound belief in their sincerity, but because the whole foreign policy of Turkey during the last two years has shown that she considers that her true interest lies in friendly relations with us. Although, therefore, this outburst of xenophobia is disquieting, I am not as yet prepared to attach too much importance to it. Much of it is, I think, but a fortuitous concatenation of events, much of it to anxiety for Turkish prestige, and some of it possibly to a feeling that the Turkish Government has inclined a little too far to one side of the fence, and that it is time to give a soothing mixture to the Soviet Ambassador, who is said to have let it be understood that Moscow is not pleased with the latest developments of Turkish foreign policy. Moreover, the Turks are neophytes in government and journalism, and possibly have not realised the effect which their present attitude might have upon Great Britain.

9. Unfortunately, the complete dislocation of the railway service and the upsetting of all my plans owing to Sir G. Clayton and Sir H. Dobbs being held up by the weather, have made it impossible for me to go to Angora to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The railway company assures me daily that Sir G. Clayton may be expected on the morrow, but the days go by and he is still three and a half hours away in a place to which one can neither fly nor go by train or motor or sleigh, nor have I, in spite of strenuous efforts, been able to establish any communication with him. I therefore do not know whether he will still have time to go to Angora before proceeding to Bagdad, but as soon as he arrives and I learn his plans, I propose myself to go up to Angora with or without the High Commissioner, in order to get some idea of what is at the back of all this venom.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 910/225/44] No. 21

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 61.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 11, 1929.*

IN my despatch No. 54 of the 5th February, I had the honour to inform you that, in the opinion of the Greek representatives, the long delays in the negotiations at Angora relative to the exchange of populations were due chiefly to the perpetual changes introduced by the Turkish delegates into the basis of the discussion

2. I have not had the opportunity of hearing at first hand the Turkish point of view on the subject. Yunus Nadi, the bellicose editor of the "République," entered the lists once more this morning with a leading article entitled "Nous en avons assez." For months now, he says, the Turkish and Greek delegates have been discussing certain points which had previously been accepted by the Greek Government. When the Greek delegates now assert that they are forced to seek further instructions from Athens, their object is obviously to drag out the discussions indefinitely. If the Greek Government can thus openly prove its solemn engagement to be worthless, to what end does the Turkish Government now indefinitely prolong negotiations for a fresh agreement, which will doubtless prove as valueless as the previous ones. Let the Turkish Government break off the discussions forthwith and let it safeguard itself against possible loss by an immediate seizure of all Greek property in Turkey.

3. This is not the first time that Yunus Nadi has held similar language, but the fact that he should have been permitted to publish such an attack shows, perhaps, that the Turkish Government is [illegible] impatient at the indefinite prolongation of these negotiations.

4. The Government itself, however, is not yet [illegible] [illegible] Milliet [illegible] Tevfik Rushdi [illegible] which he states categorically that the negotiations have not been broken off. [illegible] which discussions are held up is, he says, the question of determining the exact compensation due to the non-exchangeables. Thanks to the conciliatory attitude of the Turkish Government the negotiations have advanced so far that rupture would now mean the loss of much valuable work. But it is not to be expected, continues the Minister, that public opinion should be satisfied with these long negotiations which have no result. If only the Greek Government was prepared to treat the matter in as practical a way as the Turks, there is no doubt that a satisfactory settlement would quickly be reached.

5. Meanwhile, it appears that the Greek Government has been making a further effort to reverse the decision of the Mixed Exchange Commission to transfer its headquarters to Karaidjma in Western Thrace, alleging as its reason the lack of suitable accommodation. The chief Turkish delegate on the commission has accordingly issued a statement to the press strongly protesting against the difficulties now raised on the Greek side, and declaring that the commission's prestige and independence is now bound up with its adhering to the decision already taken unanimously.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 915/92/44. No. 22.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 65.)

Sir, *Angora, February 12, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 60 of the 9th instant, I have the honour to report that I took the occasion of Sir Gilbert Clayton's visit to Angora to-day to speak to the Minister for Foreign Affairs about the recent attacks on British policy, especially in Afghanistan, in the local press.

2. I said that, while I was prepared to make all allowances for the nonsense that had been written about the Tatnela fire, since the Greeks had by their insinuations awakened easily stirred prejudices, and while I could also understand, though I could not condone, the attacks on the various foreign managed companies, whose difficulties could not be appreciated by the general public, I must confess that I had been greatly perturbed by the bitterness and injustice of the attacks on British action in Afghanistan, coming as they did at a time when both his Excellency and the Prime Minister had assured me of their satisfaction at the friendliness of the relations between our two countries, and appearing as they did in what was admittedly the Government organ. I asked his Excellency to tell me quite frankly what was the reason for this deliberate assault.

3. Tevfik Rushdi was not quite at his ease, and had evidently anticipated my enquiry. He accounted for the press campaign in two ways. Firstly, it was due to

la grande propagande, by which presumably he meant the Soviet Government, and feeling no doubt that to develop that insinuation he was entering on delicate ground, he went on to say that the campaign was still more the fruit of the reports that appeared in the French and German papers. His Excellency said that the Turkish journalists were very largely dependent for news from outside sources and had not the experience to assess the accuracy of or to understand the reasons for the reports they received. He also admitted that the Government could not hold the press with too tight a curb and, as it had to keep very close hold over internal affairs, it had had to give the press its head in foreign questions. He added that what had been printed was very harmless compared to what he had stopped, and that he had also let it be known that the papers were to be kept to order. He further pointed out that none of the articles in the "Milliet" were written by the responsible editor, Mahmud Bey, who was a Deputy, nor by Falik Rifki, also a Deputy, the two most important writers on the paper.

4. Throughout the conversation the Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasised the friendliness of the Turkish Government towards Great Britain, and said nothing that so much as hinted at disappointment with or suspicion of our policy, and I am inclined to think that his Excellency's explanation does in large measure account for what has happened. I am told that Russian money has been very plentiful in Turkish journalistic circles of late, and I think that that, coupled with the necessity, admitted by Tevfik Rushdi, to let the press have its head in foreign questions, plus the desire mentioned in my despatch referred to above to save the Turkish face on the event of Amanullah's eventual failure, would account for the situation. I also think that the press got a little out of hand, and the Turkish Government realising now that it had allowed itself to be carried the unfortunate effect on British public opinion, will try to put on the brake, for it would sincerely regret a set back in our relations. In short, much of what has happened has been due to chauvinism and inexperience rather than to malice aforethought. It remains to be seen whether the waters that have been stirred will settle down as quickly as Tevfik Rushdi, with his usual airy optimism, assured me they would.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 916/90/44] No. 23.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 66. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 14, 1929.*

WITH reference to my immediately preceding despatch, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum by Mr. Helm, second secretary to His Majesty's Embassy, on the general position of Turkey to-day.

2. I am in general agreement with the account given by Mr. Helm of the situation of Turkey, and also with his belief that, on the whole, Turkey would sooner have our help than that of any other Power. The difficulty is likely to be that, though we may, as I hope, be very willing to help Turkey, the form in which Turkey would demand such assistance, and the form in which we could give it, will probably differ widely, and Turkey may find other Powers more ready to give on easier terms. But until the Turkish Government gets beyond the stage of vague hints through unofficial channels and puts forward some concrete demand, I see little use in trying to formulate the line our reply to any overtures should take.

3. Mr. Helm's theory that the recent outburst of Anglophobia has been partly designed as a sort of inverted blackmail to make us realise that Turkey has still considerable power to help or to hinder is ingenious and consonant with the mentality of its rulers, but I rather doubt anything so machiavellian, even on the part of Tewfik Rushdi.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 23.

Memorandum on the Present General Position of Turkey.

(Confidential.)

THE present seems not altogether an inopportune moment for a general review of the position of Turkey by comparing her internal situation, of the stability or otherwise of her Administration, and also for an estimate of probable developments of internal and external policy in regard to Turkey in so far as these are likely to affect His Majesty's Government.

2. It may be asked why this comment has been deferred so long. The answer is that the drama of the Near East is so rapid and that, as I envisage the present situation, Turkey has now, or will shortly reach, a stage in her development when her decisions should, I think, have to be taken not only be the key to her future existence, but may well have consistent effects on the history of the world.

3. Six years ago the Turks became masters in their own house. During that time they have made great strides towards an independent existence. This is not the place for a description of the rapid, sweeping, and refurnishing which has taken place. Suffice it to say that they have, in the furnishings of other houses, taken everything that, in their own way, with results which, in the main, have been successful. There has, however, been the Turkish own, and now no external force has been allowed to interfere with its execution.

4. Hitherto on only one occasion has the Ghazi, for in the regeneration of this country the Ghazi and Turkey have been synonymous, been obliged to withdraw from a position which he had taken up in the inaugural reform. I refer to his surrender on the matter of the change of women's dress. On that occasion the withdrawal was so skilfully effected that few were truly aware of it, yet it is certain that the Mustafa Kemal Cabinet had insisted on something which, in the opinion of the people, was a step too far. In the same way, recent developments in Angora have given the impression of excursions into the details of the Turkish way of life, yet the everyday life of the Turkish people has, in many respects, been only slightly modified. Such a comparatively minor change as the adoption of Sunday as a day of rest has been indefinitely postponed, though except in the cities, where, however, it is strongly opposed, it is generally accepted. The religious feeling is weakest, the ends of the reform have been almost completely discounted a few months ago. For the first time Mustafa Kemal's course has been deflected by obstacles drawn from Turkey's frontiers, and the events of much sound and fury.

5. The first thought that strikes one is that such a halt must be due to a loss of prestige on the part of the Ghazi in his reforming mission. That possibility can, however, be reasonably dismissed. He is certainly not assailed by doubts of the beneficial nature of his reforms. What he has probably now realised is that some time must elapse before any considerable proportion of the people reach the same conclusion. The pace has, in fact, been too hot to be continued indefinitely. The régime is, it is true, stable enough in so far as that term can be applied to any Eastern country, but this stability is dependent on force, and a force which is completely under control. If the situation should ever get out of hand, that this control were relaxed, the whole edifice of the reforms, and with it its architects, might collapse with the crash, leaving a free field to the apostles of reaction.

6. For, though the present regime is perhaps better than any conceivable alternative, it would be a gross exaggeration to say that it is popular, as that term is understood in a Western democracy. The eastern provinces are an open sore which refuses to heal satisfactorily to treatment, and reports are current of further troubles in these areas. We have recently heard of abortive risings in Constantinople, Brusa, Konia, and Smyrna, which, even though they were insignificant, as was hastily represented, reveal a state of affairs which is not altogether satisfactory. In the country districts the poor harvest of last year cannot fail to have added to the fuel of discontent caused by an unsettled situation. In the larger centres trade has not, as yet, developed as quickly as it should, which, even where new surveys and appraisals have been made, increased taxation and heavy imposts will inevitably cause greater hardship, the blame for which will be laid at the door of the Government. Finally, the full effect of the Lausanne Treaty is felt for some months. Hitherto it is not, perhaps, the nature of a new treaty to be so appreciated as such. But to the combined head of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs still

make personal notes in the old script. What, then, can be said of the Governor and his clerk in Amasia or Erzerum, or of the kaimakam and his assistant in Kozan or Ulu Kisla, who have never learnt a European language? All have, it is true, passed examinations in the new script, but many months must elapse before they can use it with the facility of the old. In the meantime, what will happen to the petitions of the Moslems and the Rizas, which have, after great efforts, been addressed to them in the new characters? Even at best the wheels of the Turkish administrative machine will move in a slow way under the old conditions. It is not impossible that outside Angora, Constantinople and a few of the larger towns they may in a few months, or years, slip up to a standstill, or, to use a phrase which would give a Turk, from the Ghazi downwards, a shock, Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

7. This period of transition, of course, presents difficulties to the Government of Mustafa Kemal. There are, however, well-established, by far, the greater part of the difficulties of position, the existence of which is, of course, well known to the Government, and are not, indeed, there are grounds for supposing that this growing power is applied to hasten the end of the situation, so far as it is in the hands of the Government. Moreover, it will be seen that the best, or, at least, the most, of the difficulties with which the Government is faced are those which, in the future, will be overcome by the Ghazi himself, as the Ghazi, in the past, has overcome difficulties of a similar character. For example, the Ghazi, in the past, has overcome difficulties of a similar character. For example, the Ghazi, in the past, has overcome difficulties of a similar character. For example,

9. Considerations such as these are doubtless far from entering the Ghazi's mind, but it is inconceivable that they should be long absent from the thoughts of other leaders, who must contemplate a time when the magnetic personality of the Ghazi will no longer dominate the national stage. At a moment, therefore, when the Ghazi possibly sees a danger of his reforms not coming to complete fruition, and even in the first instance in danger, these other leaders, whose lifework is likewise bound up with the [illegible] must be taking stock of the situation, and can scarcely fail to be aware of its latent dangers. They wish to provide for future contingencies, and thus, by another route, they arrive at the same conclusion as the Ghazi—that the structure must be made more secure.

10. Further, unless I am much mistaken, other considerations will shortly make themselves felt. Of these, the most important is the realisation that Turkey has [illegible] reached the limit to which she can hope to attain by her own unaided efforts. In spite of the confident, and even arrogant, declarations of certain misguided patriots, whose nationalism is stronger than their intelligence, Turkey will shortly have to choose one of two courses. The first amounts to little more than an [illegible] continuance of the present policy with a gradual weakening of control, the abandonment of cherished dreams, disillusionment, decay, confusion [illegible] the hand to mouth existence of the Ottoman Empire of pre-war [illegible] many of those compensating factors which led to that Empire's artificial [illegible] long after it had become an anachronism. This is a picture which is far [illegible] representing what the makers of new Turkey have set out to accomplish. [illegible] will [illegible] If Turkey has been unable to disinterest herself in events in [illegible] the revolution have been turned from the outset. For the past year Turkey has been busy settling her accounts with Europe, not because she wanted to, but because of the realisation that, if she were to live the life she desired, she must do so. In a word, money is the key to the future of Turkey. She must have it or she will collapse, and though she would rather borrow in some quarters than in others, she will ultimately take the money where she can get it.

12. And with this question of money is closely linked that of policy, both home and foreign. I have already suggested that the time is soon coming when Turkey will be unable longer to stand alone. At home, she requires money for the development of her natural resources, for the construction of railways and for other public works. But—and this is the fundamental condition which must govern the whole of this question of foreign financial assistance—Turkey will not at any price contemplate a foreign Government loan with conditions attached thereto which would be of a nature to weaken in any way her sovereign rights. She does, however, realise that her credit in the European money markets, though better than it was, is still low, and that, unless the Government of the country in which she desired to raise a loan adopted something more than a neutral attitude, she would probably encounter insuperable difficulties and be unable to induce any financial house of good standing to accept her terms. Security she would be willing to offer, and she would almost certainly be ready to give in the course of the negotiations a promise to purchase from the lending country the foreign materials necessary for the works covered by the loan. Simultaneously with the conclusion of the loan, or at a later date, foreign experts and advisers would be engaged as a matter of course. They would be servants of the Turkish Government in the true sense of the word, and as such the Turkish Government would welcome them, realising as it would that the monies could only be usefully expended, and, in fact, would probably only be available if such persons were allowed to assist in the building up of the new Turkey.

13. If my conclusions thus far [illegible] a little [illegible] further one—that it is the desire of the Turkish Government to cultivate closer relations with Great Britain, to whom she looks as the Power who can help her in her immediate need and whose moral support she considers will be most effective at some future date. In saying this I do not wish to suggest [illegible] desires now to bind herself to any State or group of States, nor that the Turks have forgiven or forgotten the events of the armistice. Far from it. But the rulers of the country are not oblivious of the wider national interests. In the space of five years British influence in Turkey has recovered to an extent which could never have been imagined, and with it, thanks to some extent to leading Turks having become better acquainted with the outside world, has developed a sincere admiration for Anglo-Saxon methods and culture.

14. Such feelings as the Turks have had for Great Britain have been vague in the extreme. This is hardly surprising if one remembers the great distance past and the extreme seclusiveness of the Turks in anything appertaining to foreign influence in Turkey. They have tended to regard us as cold and unresponsive, partly, perhaps, because they have an exaggerated idea of the use which Turkey could be to Great Britain in the sphere of Near and Middle Eastern politics.

15. At first sight it might appear that the campaign of Anglophobia in the Turkish press, and especially in the semi-official organs, to which recent events in Afghanistan have given such vital to the view that Turkey desires to cultivate closer relations with Great Britain. I venture, however, to suggest an alternative theory. Making due allowance for Soviet propaganda messages (often reproduced from the British press), for the sensational and highly coloured publications of such papers as the "People," and for the necessity to an impoverished press with no news service of taking its news where it can find it, may not the object, at least of these semi-official papers, have been to show that we cannot afford altogether to dismiss Turkey from our minds when we are dealing with questions of imperial policy? In other words, might not the campaign have been something in the nature of political blackmail?

16. This is the stage which matters have reached at present, but it seems to me improbable that they will long rest there. If it were a question of money alone, [illegible] but it seems to me likely that Turkey wishes finance [illegible] policy to go hand in hand, hoping that she can borrow money in a quarter which, while appreciating her freedom from territorial ambitions, will have a political interest in her existence as a strong and independent State. If, however, other schemes break down, Turkey may have recourse later to America, or even to an international group. France does not count at present and may be dismissed, as may also be Italy, for though a treaty of friendship has been concluded, and although the Turkish press makes much of the alleged close relationship, Turkey still entertains lively, if concealed, suspicions of Italian designs. Russia, even if she had the funds available, remains what she was, though in a lesser degree—a useful support in time of trouble, but one with whom close contact is dangerous—a support moreover, whose usefulness will diminish and with whom contact will become increasingly dangerous as she develops her strength and once more begins [illegible] Next there is Germany, who, like Russia, has not funds to spare and whose political designs would probably not be above suspicion [illegible] Great Britain. In Turkey [illegible] of the [illegible] strongly convinced of our desire to maintain existing frontiers and of the fact that we have no territorial or other ambitions in Turkey. She also at present nourishes no idea of expansion, and if she could be assured of our moral support in the field of international politics, she would feel reasonably certain that, as regards internal politics, our assistance would be disinterested, and that, if, for instance, she engaged British experts or advisers, they would render such whole-hearted service as was done by the late Sir R. Crawford.

17. The next step might, therefore, conceivably take the form of more direct overtures to ourselves. In what I have said above I have endeavoured to show what [illegible] might be expected to do for us in the economic field. In the political field she might wish, thanks to the moral support of a Great Power whose interests march with hers, to make her position more secure, but she would not, I think, put her expectations very high; she would certainly not ask for an alliance, but would probably make suggestions for the conclusion of a non-aggression pact on the lines which have recently been proposed by the Persian Government to His Majesty's Minister at Tehran. If negotiations developed, and and even perhaps in the early stages, she would probably indicate her willingness to join the League of Nations. She would, of course, point to the advantages which would accrue to us from such an arrangement—the establishment, under her ægis, of a *bloc* of friendly States (Turkey, Iraq, Persia and Afghanistan) to the south of Russia, the greater security [illegible] possible Russian aggression, stability in the Near and Middle East, [illegible] against Iraq, and a privileged position for British [illegible] in a wide field—none of them unimportant in themselves, but [illegible] of them involving considerations of imperial policy which it is quite outside my competence to discuss.

18. It is because I see a distinct possibility of matters developing on the lines which I have indicated above that I submit that serious consideration should be given to our future policy towards Turkey and to the manner in which such overtures

would be received. For the past five years our policy of passivity has served us well, and our interests would, perhaps, best be served if Turkey could continue to be self-sufficing and to steer an independent course among the nations. Circumstances may, however, very shortly make it desirable for us to adopt a more positive policy, while avoiding unnecessary commitments. Turkey is going to need a helping hand. She does, I believe, desire that that hand shall be ours. Will it be worth our while to offer it if and when it is asked for, or shall we look complacently on while it is offered by another, who may as a result reap considerable economic and political advantages? Whether or not, might we not, by so doing, lose a valuable opportunity, which may not recur, of securing our interests in the East on an infinitely sounder and safer basis than was contemplated ten years ago?

A. K. [illegible]

Angora, February 10, 1929.

E 917/90/44 | No. 24

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 67.)

Constantinople, February 15, 1929.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No. 19 of the 11th January, I have the honour to inform you that the trial of the persons accused of fomenting a revolutionary conspiracy at Broussa has now been concluded. The court was open to the public and accounts of each day's sitting were reported in the press. It is, therefore, possible to give together the essential features of the case so far as they were revealed in court.

2. Whether and how far the authorities thought fit to suppress [illegible] the public interest it is difficult to know. I can only say that the [illegible] the proceedings was a very minor affair as compared with the [illegible] pervading this city when the arrests first took place in December last. [illegible] the connexion of Kiazim Karabekir and other well-known pashas with the plot [illegible] any mentioned to be refuted. Nor was it suggested that ex-Sultan's fun[illegible] in any way implicated. Also the name of Colonel Pir Mehmed (see Mr. [illegible] despatch No. 1 of the 1st January) was never even mentioned.

3. The case as revealed at the trial was briefly as follows. The conspiracy was organised by a certain Djemal, who seems to have been the only man of any standing or education in the whole affair. He had, it appears, a good war record in the War of Independence, and had at one time held an official appointment as municipal councillor. Later, however, he had got into trouble with the authorities (for what reason was not [illegible]) and been condemned to twelve years' imprisonment. His appeal against the sentence had been quashed by the Court of Cassation and it was then that he had set about plotting his release by forcible means. To this end he succeeded in forming an organisation which he named the "Revolutionary Committee for the Protection of the Moslem Religion." Communication with his supporters outside the prison was effected through one of the prison warders, and he endeavoured to impress his uneducated followers and at the same time throw any undesirable enquirers off the scent by recording his ideas in the form of dreams. His ideas as thus recorded were of a most bloodthirsty and compromising nature and seem to have related entirely to such matters as assassinating the opponents of his own fanatical beliefs. The object of all these machinations was, in the words in which the procureur général summed up the case for the prosecution, to open the gates of the prison, terrorise the population, pillage all the Turkish banks, win over the troops on Smyrna at the head of the forces there gathered together, thus *join the English* and overthrow the Government. I would draw attention to the words in italics.

4. The police having got wind of the plot, set informers to work to unravel it. It was on the basis of their denunciations that Djemal and his associates were accused and condemned.

5. Djemal himself denied everything. He pointed out that all his supposed followers came from the riff-raff of the population, and that, if he had really intended to organise a plot of such dimensions, he would not have attempted it with such inferior instruments. That something had been in the wind, however, was apparent from the admissions, often self-contradictory, of the other accused persons, to say nothing of the revelations of the *agents provocateurs*. The result of the trial, therefore, was that Djemal, the guilty warder, and three others were condemned to death, while

nine others were condemned to varying terms of imprisonment. The remainder were discharged for insufficient evidence.

6. How far the case was tried on reasonably strict principles of justice is not easy to say, but the attitude of the president of the court seems to have left a good deal to be desired. He appears incredibly to have confused his functions with that of public prosecutor. Significant was his remark addressed to the counsel for the defence that he was convinced that in undertaking the defence they would act in conformity with justice.

7. That, however, is of small practical importance. From the political point of view what matters is that the police system was good enough to discover the plot, and that the plot was successfully dealt with without recourse to extraordinary measures.

8. I should add a word as to the alleged implication of Great Britain in the affair. I have already drawn attention to the procureur general's statement when summing up that the conspirators had intended to join the English at Smyrna. This point came up in the first days of the trial and I had imagined that "the English" had come into the matter because one of the accused was named "Laz Ali," and this name [illegible] may easily be confused in a telegram. But the reference to the point [illegible] general shows that I had given the Turkish authorities more credit than they deserved. That they should have permitted the procureur général to include such an accusation in his summing up can only, I fear, be a further example of the wave of Anglophobia that has revealed itself in so many ways in the last few weeks. The report of British inspiration in regard to the plot, moreover, came out in a further incident in the trial. One of the accused was said to have visited this Embassy and got in touch with one of the secretaries. The accused, for his part, categorically denied such a visit. Nevertheless, I instructed Mr. Roberts to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs and tell him that any participation of this Embassy in the affair was unthinkable, and at the same time ask him to ascertain and let me know what reason, if any, there was for the court to admit such a statement without at once subjecting it to the most searching control.

[illegible] accordingly raised the matter with Tewfik Rushdi and took the [illegible] Tewfik Rushdi gave me to understand that the latter of the [illegible] general public. He suggested that to pursue it further would only be to give it an undeserved publicity. As to that I feel he may be right and I have not pursued the matter further.

10. Meanwhile the persons who were arrested [illegible] on the 5th January last, having, it seems, successfully [illegible] the president of the Penal Court appears, however, to have had a [illegible], with the result that the Ministry of Justice intervened and the accused are once again under arrest and being subjected to further examination.

I have &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[N 1146/1015/38 | No. 25

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 19.)

(No. 19.)
(Telegraphic.) P.

Constantinople, February 19, 1929.

My telegram No. 16.

According to information received, Trotsky was originally granted an [illegible] visa and arrived in Constantinople on 12th February. Turkish Government, however, had meanwhile become apprehensive of his presence here on political grounds, and he has been ordered to the interior of Anatolia. This has apparently made him very angry, as he says he desires to enjoy the Bosphorus climate for reasons of health. At the same time, he is reported to have left yesterday and to have gone to Angora.

[E 1090/189/44] No. 26.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received February 28.)

(No. 88.)

Sir,

Constantinople, February 21, 1929.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 57 of the 8th instant relative to the supplying of destroyers and submarines to the Turkish Government, I gather that such soundings as at least one interested British firm has taken as to the possibility of support by British banks disclose considerable reluctance on the part of the latter to guarantee the undertaking.

2. This attitude is natural enough, but it probably means the loss of the order to British industry.

3. It is, of course, early days to expect the banks to give any definite assurances, for British firms have still to secure the offer of the contract against their foreign rivals. But if our people succeed so far as that, they will then have to make an effort to get the support of the British banks, who in their turn may be expected to try to ascertain the views of His Majesty's Government as to the credit of Turkey and to commit us to an indirect blessing on the enterprise.

4. It may therefore be worth while to set forth the position briefly as I see it here.

5. Both politically and economically it is much to be hoped that British firms will get the order. Politically, because it will draw our relations to Turkey closer, economically because it will benefit British labour. The question thus boils down to the nature of the financial risk involved.

6. Since payments will be made over a period of anything from six to ten years, the first consideration is the stability of the present régime. No one would care to prophesy as to the future, anything may happen in Turkey. But it is a good risk which, if it stood alone, should in my opinion unhesitatingly be taken. What really matters is the good faith and capacity to pay of the present Turkish Government. The various vessels will be delivered within two years, so that long before that time the Turkish Treasury bills will be punctually met. It is safe to count on equal punctuality once the ships are safe in Turkish waters. Not that I anticipate any deliberate intention of the Turkish Government to fail to meet these obligations, but because of the possible pressure of the exchequer. Many competent observers here think that the limit of taxation has been reached, and that the revenue which has just been saddled with the payment of the coupons of the Ottoman debt and of the sums necessary for the purchase of the Anatolian Railway, to which may possibly be added the repayment of the Constantinople Municipal Loan, can not stand the further charges required to pay for these ships. This may be very nearly true, but three things lead me to think that Turkey both could, and would, pay. Firstly, the same cry that the year's expenditure will show a heavy deficit has been raised during the last three years, but during that time the estimates, both of revenue and expenditure, have steadily gone up and no deficits have shown themselves. Secondly, the amount of the order is about £2½ million sterling, which, for ten years, represents roughly £T 2½ million per annum, an amount which, in my opinion, the Turkish revenue could stand. Lastly, and most important of all, default in this respect would be so deadly a blow to Turkish credit that I think that the Government would make every effort to meet its obligations.

7. Should, therefore, British banks make enquiries of His Majesty's Government, I venture to suggest that we should, while disclaiming anything like exerting pressure or incurring any responsibility for the decision of the banks, let them know confidentially, the position as I see it here.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 1096/92/44] No. 27.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 1.)

(No. 80.)

Sir,

Constantinople, February 19, 1929.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 65 of the 12th instant, I have the honour to report that my conversation with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, recorded therein, has borne immediate fruit.

2. I have seen a copy of the leading article in the "Milliet" of the 16th instant written by Mahmut Bey * the editor-in-chief, which bears all the signs of having been written to order and contains in the last paragraph a profession of belief in British [illegible] Foreign Affairs, not very convincing perhaps, but show[illegible] a change from the critical attitude hitherto adopted by that paper.

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

N 402/1/97 No. 28.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 4.)

(No. 4. Confidential.)

Telegraphic.

Constantinople, March 3, 1929.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs told me yesterday that Turkish Military Mission was to be withdrawn from Kabul as soon as decision was reached as to route to be followed. On ground of responsibility falling on him if any fatal accident occurred to any Turkish officer, he had ruled out evacuation over the mountains to India and was investigating respective advantages and possibilities of getting the mission into Persia via Herat or sending it out through Russia. His Excellency added that he was more than half inclined to withdraw the Turkish Minister at the present time.

Minister for Foreign Affairs asked that when Turkish officer at Quetta in charge of bills belonging to Turkish Military Mission interviewed local authorities that he party was to return to Turkey he might be given [illegible] facilities for the journey. I undertaken to reply that I was sure [illegible] would count on this.

(Repeated to India.)

[N 1408/1/55] No. 29.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 4.)

(No. 5.)

Telegraphic. R.

Angora, March 4, 1929.

MINISTER for Foreign Affairs informed me yesterday that, on the invitation of the Soviet Government, Turkey had adhered to the Litvinov Protocol.

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* Not printed.

[E 1268/1268/44] No. 30.

Sir P. Lorraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 89.)

Sir, *Athens, March 2, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the articles recently contributed by Mr. Winston Churchill to the "Times," and published under the title "The Aftermath," have been reproduced here by several papers, in so far as regards those portions of the articles which deal with the Greek landing in Asia Minor and the subsequent campaign which ended in the disaster to the Greek army.

2. The publication has excited, of course, considerable interest and comment, which, perhaps naturally, reproduces the political bias of the two great parties in the country.

3. The Eleftheron Vema, which took the initiative in publishing the articles, replying to the argument of the Royalist press that M. Veniselos ought never to have permitted the landing in Asia Minor, points out that no voice in Greece was raised against the occupation of Smyrna when it took place, whilst, on the contrary, M. Veniselos was severely criticised by his political opponents for not occupying the Pontus and other districts in the remote hinterland. Even later, during the continuation of the campaign after the return of Constantine, M. Gounaris [illegible] "no Greek statesman [illegible] would have refused to land in Asia Minor on the morrow of the Allied victory." It [illegible] the Eleftheron Vema [illegible] M. Veniselos has completely overcome the objections raised by Mr. Edwin Montagu and other Turkophiles to the Greek occupation of Asia Minor. Mr. Churchill points out that it was only after the fall of Veniselos and the return of Constantine that anti-Greek influences found an opportunity to revive and to prevent any assistance being given to Greece. What else, then, was the return of Constantine than a crime committed despite the desperate warnings given by M. Veniselos as to the consequences which would follow? What, if not a crime, was the continuation of the campaign in Asia Minor after Constantine's return had upset all the bases on which the occupation was carried out, and when Greece was isolated? There is no answer to these questions, no justification, no explanation, save that the Government of the time was blinded by party passion. Had Constantine not returned Greece would to-day hold the splendid position about which Mr. Lloyd George spoke to Mr. Churchill.

4. The anti-Veniselist press endeavours to read into Mr. Churchill's articles an admission that the return of Constantine was not the cause of England's withdrawal of her support of Greece, and that the British Government had decided on this course "from the beginning." On the other hand, it is admitted, say the "Skrip," that Mr. Lloyd George personally supported Greece in her Asia Minor expedition, not only under M. Veniselos, but also under M. Gounaris. It is no secret that when M. Gounaris returned to Greece after his exile he first visited London, where he received official assurances that he would be supported as head of the Government after the restoration of Constantine. It should also be known to-day that King Constantine did not return to Greece without British assurances that he would not be restrained in the exercise of his prerogatives, and that he would be free to appoint the commander of the army and his diplomatic representatives abroad. England had declared, even under Veniselos, that she would grant no financial or military support to Greece.

5. The "Proi" says that Mr. Lloyd George urged M. Veniselos to go to Asia Minor, and had no hesitation in encouraging M. Gounaris to continue the campaign and in making personal promises which he had not the strength to carry out. This is why he is the man who did more harm to Greece than any other British statesman. "Is it for this reason that the 'Ethnos' proposes to erect a statue to him at the side of that of Gladstone?"

6. On the other hand, the "Politia" accuses Mr. Lloyd George of ruining Greece because his philhellenic [illegible] words and not deeds. "He urged Greece into a war and then [illegible]."

7. In a final article on the subject, the "Patris" writes of the Royalist papers: "The best thing they can do is to be silent. That is the only way in which they can make atonement in the eyes of the people on whom they [illegible] such ruin by their [illegible] policy."

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE

[E 1251/1251/44] No. 31.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 92. Confidential.)

Sir, *Constantinople, February 26, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 16 of the 11th January, 1928, I have the honour to transmit herewith notes on the leading Turkish personalities, which have been brought up to date by Mr. Helm.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador),

W. S. EDMONDS

Enclosure in No. 31.

Notes on Leading Turkish Personalities.

Abdul Halik Bey, Mustafa

Born at Yanina about 1870. Belongs to a family of Albanian Tosks. Educated at Yanina and at Mulkie College, Constantinople. In 1908 appointed member of the Council of State. Uncle by marriage of the late Talat Pasha. In 1910–11, [illegible] 1914–15, Vali of Van. For a short period in 1915 was Under Secretary for the Interior. 1915–16, Vali of Bitlis, and 1916–17 of Aleppo. Then became Under Secretary for the Interior, holding post until the armistice. Arrested in May 1920 and deported to Malta on charge of [illegible] committed at Aleppo during the war. Learnt to play tennis and bridge there. In 1923 was [illegible] Smyrna, where he got on well with Europeans. In July elected Deputy of Changri. In June 1924 succeeded Hassan Fehmi Bey as Minister of Finance, and held post [illegible] 1925. Resigned on fall of Fethi Bey and became director-general of the Agricultural Bank [illegible] the Parliamentary Committee of Finance. In July 1926 again became Minister of Finance. He soon showed himself aware of the weakness of Turkey's financial position abroad and visited Europe in the summer of 1927, when he was identified with an arrangement for the settlement of the "Capitulations" question. In September he was re-elected Deputy for Changri, and in November, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, became Minister of National Defence and Acting Minister of Marine.

Abdul Halik Bey knows Greek and speaks indifferent French. He owed his early advancement to his relationship with Talat Pasha, though he was never a prominent Unionist figure. Though not possessed of brilliance, he has considerable administrative capacity, and has a reputation for scrupulous honesty, a virtue to which has been widely attributed the desire of Ismet Pasha to retain him at the Ministry of Defence, where peculation in connexion with munitions contracts had previously been rampant. Is essentially a moderate, and the only member of the Cabinet to observe the Ramazan Fast. Is a keen gardener, a good bridge player and [illegible] in conversation.

Adil Bey

Born at Smyrna in 1880. Son of Abdulu Pasha, known as Tatar zade. Attended Turkish high school. 1902, secretary in Smyrna Tax Office. 1909 Finance inspector, a post which he held till 1922. In 1923 became Government [illegible] of Ottoman Bank and Bourse and in following year went on a [illegible] to Paris and London. From November 1924 till September 1927 was Director General of Customs. Resigned on his election as Deputy for Samsun and is a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly.

Adil Bey was not a success as Director General of Customs, and was described by a Turk as "a good financial official but not a customs expert." During his tenure of the post he showed himself very unaccommodating towards foreign interests.

Adnan Bey, Dr.

Born about 1880. Trained in Germany as physician, and was formerly medical adviser to Talat Pasha. During the war was a prominent member of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 became secretary general of the Red Crescent Society and a Deputy for Constantinople. In January 1920 went to Angora and threw in his lot with Mustafa Kemal, and in May became Minister of Public Health. In August became temporarily Minister of the Interior, and in March 1921 Vice President of the Assembly. In June 1922 became Minister of Public Works, but resigned in July. Was again for a time Vice-President of the Assembly, but in December was appointed to Constantinople as delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which post he held until June 1921, having previously opted for the deputyship for Constantinople, to which he had been elected [illegible]. Proceeded to Europe, and gradually became associated with [illegible] and Jaudalat Beys in their opposition to Mustafa Kemal. In November [illegible] from the People's Republican party and became vice president of the Executive Bureau of the newly formed Progressive party. In February 1926 he resigned his deputyship nominally on grounds of ill health, having been resident in Europe for the previous year. In August 1926 he was tried by default for participation in the plot against the life of the President, but was acquitted. [illegible] 1927 he continued to reside in London, and followed medical [illegible] at St. Thomas's Hospital. Is understood to be in rather straightened circumstances.

Adnan Bey is a tall, pleasant man with a delicate constitution. [illegible] and speaks French well. Moderate in his views, and owes much to his reputation for [illegible] and to his being the husband of Halidé Edib Hanum, the well-known Turkish [illegible]. Was a strong supporter of Mustafa Kemal in the early stages of the Nationalist movement, but his moderate and anti Bolshevik sentiments made him suspect.

Ahmed Bey Agaieff (Ajan Oglu, Ahmed Bey)

Born about 1864 in Azerbaijan. Son of an Islamised Caucasian Jew. Educated at Moscow, and started life as a journalist. Became an *agent provocateur* to the Russian [illegible] and was [illegible] at Baku in 1904. In 1904-5 published two newspapers in Baku, but then fell into disgrace; went to Turkey and became a Turkish subject in 1908. Threw in his lot with the Committee of Union and Progress. Later published a pro Russian paper in Turkish, and became editor of the "Terjuman-i Hakikat." In 1916 became Minister of Education, and at this time was noted for his anti British articles. Took a part in organising the Armenian massacres. In 1918 received £T 100,000 from the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919-21 imprisoned at Malta. In June 1921 he became director of the Press Bureau at Angora, and from then onwards has been a close friend of Mustafa Kemal. Has been the chief worker for closer Russo-Turkish relations, often by means of editorial articles in the officially-inspired "Hakimiet-i-Milie" of which he is one of the editors.

In the 1923-27 Assembly he was a member of the Executive Bureau of the People's party and of the Foreign Affairs Commission, as well as reporter of the Constitutional Commission. Was re-elected Deputy for Kars in September 1927 and in November became a member of the party's Executive Bureau and of the Constitutional Commission.

Ahmed Bey Agaieff is a short, most [illegible] man, with heavy eyebrows and wears dark glasses. He is [illegible], accompanied by his English-speaking daughter, [illegible] more attractive in appearance than their father. He is artful, sly and [illegible] speaks Russian, French, Persian and Turkish. He has certain affinities with Oxford. Since the summer of 1926 his articles have become somewhat [illegible] towards Britain.

Ahmed Ferid Bey

Born at Brusa in 1875. Passed through Harbié Military College in 1898 with rank of staff captain. Later went to Paris and studied at School of Political Science. Only returned to Turkey after 1908. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress and became Deputy for Kutahia. In 1910 joined the *Entente libérale* party and was exiled by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1913. He made his peace with

Talat Pasha in 1915 and became consul-general at Kiev in November 1917. Recalled in December 1918, he resumed attacks on the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1919 was Minister of Public Works and of Finance under Damad Ferid Pasha. He resigned in July owing to his desire to reach an understanding with Mustafa Kemal. Joined the Nationalist cause in April 1920, was immediately elected a Deputy in the Angora Assembly, and soon afterwards became Minister of Finance. In September 1920 attended the Baku Congress and soon afterwards appeared rather pro-Bolshevik. In November 1921 was appointed representative of the Angora Government at Paris, which post he held till February 1923, when he was recalled because of certain offensive remarks made regarding the Allies. In spite of opposition in the Assembly, he became Minister of the Interior in October 1923. Was the subject of many attacks both in the Assembly and the press, but continued to hold the post till May 1924. Appointed Ambassador at London in June 1925.

Ferid Bey speaks good French and Arabic. A thorough opportunist and rather [illegible]. Wife is attractive and has helped him to make something of a success of the London Embassy.

Ahmed Muktar Bey

Born at Constantinople in 1871. Studied at French school and military college in Constantinople. In 1891 received a post in the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in due course became its Sub-Director-General. In 1909 consul general at Budapest. In 1912 Minister at Athens. Joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and in 1913 was for a short time Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1917 Minister at Kiev. Returned to Turkey in March 1919. Was elected Deputy for Constantinople. Escaped to Anatolia in June 1920 and joined the Nationalists. In June 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and in [illegible] appointed Ambassador at Moscow. In October 1924 he opted for the deputyship and returned to Turkey. From 1923 till 1927 was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In June 1927, his appointment as Ambassador to Washington was announced, and in November he took up his duties.

Ahmed Muktar Bey is a man of the world, and his long official career has given him at least all the outward characteristics of a diplomat. He strikes one, however, as being somewhat sinister, though he is very agreeable in conversation. Speaks French fluently. Is credited with strong Russian sympathies.

Ali Bey

Born about 1875 at Ahon Kara Hissar. Educated at the Stamboul Military School. Commanded a battalion at Chatalja during the Balkan war and served in the Great War as a colonel. Organised resistance to the Greeks at Aivaluk in 1919. Was elected a Deputy for Constantinople in December and remained there to attend the debates till March 1920, when he was deported to Malta. Released a year later he at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. After his re-election in 1923 he became one of the chief organisers of the People's party, and in November 1924 was elected vice-president of the administrative council of the party, a position which he still holds. In March 1925 he was appointed president of the Angora Independence Tribunal, soon afterwards shot with impunity a fellow Deputy in the Chamber and unofficially passed death sentences till the Independence Tribunals were abolished early in 1927. 1925-27 was president of the Defence Commission of the Assembly, and in November 1927, on his re-election as Deputy for Ahon Kara Hissar, became a member of the Budget Commission.

Ali Bey, known as the "bald-headed," is a curious phenomenon, for, in spite of his record, he is attractive. Until recently only spoke Turkish, but for the last two years has devoted an hour daily to the study of English, which he now speaks haltingly, but reads with a certain facility. He has an engaging smile, and was once very aptly described by a British visitor to Angora as resembling "a benevolent Scotch elder." During the summer of 1927, rumour was busy with his name as a possible successor to Ismet Pasha. It is doubtful if he could have filled the bill, though his surprising honesty could not have failed to be an asset. Previously much in evidence at the Angora Club, he now rarely puts in an appearance. He is not a conversationalist.

Ali Fethi Bey

Born at Ochrida, Macedonia, in 1877. Graduated from military school in Constantinople in 1903 and saw service in Macedonia. Became an ardent Committee of Union and Progress adherent and took charge of Abdul Hamid on the expulsion of the latter to Salonica. 1910-13 military attaché at Sofia, and 1913-17 Minister there. Was for a short time Minister of the Interior in autumn of 1918, and soon after was deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in April 1921 he proceeded at once to Anatolia and became Minister of the Interior. In July-August 1922 proceeded on a mission to Persia and London. In 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and during two months was President of the Council of Ministers, which post he resigned on emergence of Republican issue. In November became first President of the Assembly. In March 1924 was recorded as being identified with the Opposition when the question of the President's powers was under consideration. In May, chief Turkish delegate for Mosul discussions in Constantinople. Represented Turkey before the League of Nations in September and later proceeded to Brussels again in connexion with the Mosul question. Became President of the Council for the second time, and in November also held the portfolio of Defence. His period of office was marked by moderation and he had the support of the Oppositionist Progressive party. In March 1925, on the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt, his Government fell because of his alleged lukewarmness in dealing with the rebels, and in the same month was appointed Turkish Ambassador in Paris.

Fethi Bey has Mongol features. He is pleasant to talk to, speaks good French and is essentially a moderate. He has an attractive wife. There is evidence that even from Paris he exercises no little influence at Angora, and a visit which he paid to the capital in 1928 had much to do with the Turkish acceptance of the Ottoman debt settlement.

Ali Fuad Pasha

Born in Constantinople in 1882. Grandson of the renowned Grand Vizier and Turkish delegate at Berlin Congress. Graduated from the military school in 1905 and since then has followed a military career. 1908-11, military attaché at Rome. During the war fought on the Caucasus and Palestine fronts. Was one of the first Turkish generals to join the Kemalist movement, and was one of Mustafa Kemal's most trusted leaders, until his tendency to take an independent line in the field led, late in 1920, to his appointment as Kemalist Ambassador at Moscow, where he was chiefly instrumental in securing the signature of the Turco-Russian Treaty of March 1921. Was recalled in April 1922 owing to an incident in the Embassy in Moscow and resumed his military command. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Aydin and Vice-President of the Assembly. Later became inspector-general at Konia, but resigned his post in October 1924, by which time he had become completely associated with the Rauf-Adnan-Refet Opposition group. In November he resigned from the People's party and became secretary-general of the new Progressive party. In 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna for alleged participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but was acquitted. His reception by the President in November 1926, and again early in 1927, gave rise to a rumour that Ali Fuad was returning to the Kemalist fold, but this was not confirmed, and he ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Remained in complete obscurity throughout 1928.

Ali Fuad Pasha has a reputation for honesty. During the war was not on good terms with the German commanders, and during the armistice period was believed to be violently anti-British.

Ali Jenani Bey

Born about 1880 at Aintab, which he represented in the Constantinople Parliament, being for a time reporter for the budget. Was deported to Malta in 1919 on account of his energetic activity at the meetings of Aintab. On being released he joined the Kemalist movement and has been Deputy for Aintab since 192[illegible]. In November 1924 became Minister of Commerce. In 1925 his commercial legislation showed that he was leading the ultra-Nationalist movement against Christian employees and foreign capital. In May 1926 he resigned owing to reported differences with the Minister of Finance. He nevertheless continued to be influential and for two years was the chief Turkish delegate for commercial negotiations with foreign countries, being responsible in particular for the Turco-Russian Commercial

Treaty of March 1927. Became reporter of the Budget Commission in November 1927, but fell from grace early in 1928 when he was tried by the High Court for a [illegible] public tenders with the Minister of Commerce. Was heavily fined, but his sentence of imprisonment was commuted. Is now a prominent and influential circles.

Ali Jenani Bey is a [illegible] business man in the Aintab area, and his business [illegible] is considered honest and go-ahead. Much of his property is now in Syria, and he has lost [illegible] many most of his considerable wealth. He is a poor picture of [illegible] appearance and has been described as active, resourceful and [illegible]. He plays a good game, but not very good game of bridge. His two daughters have received an American college education, but his wife is rarely seen. His small [illegible] is at the American high school.

Ali Said Pasha

Born near Panderma in 1874. Graduated from the Military College in 1898 and held several minor staff appointments till 1907, when, with the rank of major, he was sent to the Yemen. Returned to Constantinople in 1909, and in 1913, during the Balkan war was in charge of the lines of communication. Was then for a time control officer on the Anatolian Railway until January 1914, when he was promoted colonel and posted to Sana, in the Yemen, where he remained until some time after the 1918 armistice, when he was finally induced to surrender to the British authorities at Aden, whom he had fought for four years, during most of which he was out of touch with his Government. Interned in Egypt for [illegible] Ali Said Pasha, who had now been promoted general, returned to Constantinople early in 1919 and was Military Governor of the capital till March 1920, when, on the occupation of the town he was deported to Malta. Immediately after his release in October 1921 he joined Mustafa Kemal, and in the following year he succeeded Kuzim Karabekir Pasha as General Officer Commanding the Eastern Army. In October 1924 he was appointed Inspector-General of the First (Western) Military Area, and still holds this post. Was promoted to be a general of the first class in August 1927.

Ali Said Pasha is pleasant, courteous and has a well-modulated voice. Was probably at one time decidedly pro British, and still is, as he says, "in the interests of his country", but he chooses to forget rather than to forgive his treatment at British hands. Not a strong personality and takes no part in politics, but is interested in Iraq and to such an extent that on an Angora ball room floor he produced [illegible] the position of his wells was clearly shown. Speaks a little [illegible] of Malta, where he also learnt to play tennis. Both he and his massive wife used to be very popular in Angora society, but, when the attendance of military officers at social functions was vetoed in March 1928, they transferred their domicile to Constantinople, and their appearances [illegible] now all too infrequent.

Isem Pasha.

Born about 1882 in Constantinople. Passed out of Military College in 1902 with rank of staff captain, and was attached to the Imperial Guard. From 1907 to 1909 served on staff of Monastir division. In 1909 appointed to General Staff. Pursued a course of military studies in Germany from 1912 till January 1915, when on his return he was attached to Turkish General Headquarters, remaining there till end of war. Again in Germany, 1918-19. In November 1920 became chief of the Intelligence Section of the General Staff, but soon after threw in his lot with the Nationalists and became Chief of Staff to Ismet Pasha. In November 1924 became General Officer Commanding the IXth Army Corps, in August 1926 was promoted "Ferik" and later commanded the 5th Corps. In October 1928 was appointed Chief of the Turkish General Staff.

[illegible] Isem Pasha [illegible] to great [illegible]. He [illegible] well with his German supervisors during the war, speaks German well and [illegible] French.

Ita Bey, Mehmed

A native of Negde, where he was born about 1880. Studied for two years (1898-99) at Constantinople, and was then appointed to a minor post in the Adrianople Vilayet. 1902 Kaimakam of Midia, 1904 of Pergama and later of Nev

Shehr, Kilis and Azizie. In 1912 became Governor of Burdur, and in 1916 of Marash, where he remained till the armistice. Soon afterwards was elected Deputy for Nigde and entered the Angora Assembly. In 1921 was for a short time Minister of the Interior, and again held the post for a few months in 1922. In the 1923 Assembly he was president of the Internal Affairs Committee. Re-elected Deputy in 1927, he is now a member of the Budget Committee.

Ata Bey, who has obviously considerable administrative experience, possesses more than average intelligence and is regarded as honest. He was much opposed to the Armenian policy of the Turkish Government during the war.

Aziz Bey

A native of Rumelia. Born about 1883. Educated at Mulkie School. Has followed an administrative career. In 1906 was Kaimakam of Gallipoli and later of Adrianople and Samsun. [illegible] was Director General of Police. Said to have been responsible for getting [illegible] Constantinople at armistice. 1923-24 was Vali of Smyrna. 1924 [illegible] delegate at Salonica for Exchange of Populations. 1925, he became Mayor of Smyrna. 1927, Deputy for Erzerum. Has since been [illegible] member of the Budget Commission, and is now also a member of the Executive Bureau of the People's party.

Aziz Bey is [illegible] and [illegible]. His hobbies are [illegible] and municipal [illegible] the latter of which he studied in Geneva [illegible]. He is also interested in the possibilities of a Protestant Islam.

Bekir Bey

Born about 1880. An ex-colonel. In 1924 was chief administrator of the Anatolian Railway, a post in which he showed considerable ability and [illegible]. December 1925 became a Deputy for Constantinople and [illegible] Minister of Public Works. As a Minister he was a pronounced success, [illegible] in organising the existing railways and in [illegible] with the [illegible] construction schemes of the present Government. Resigned [illegible] 1928 [illegible] ally on grounds of ill-health, and was immediately [illegible] Minister at Budapest.

Bekir Sami Bey

A Circassian, born in the Caucasus in 1868. His family later settled in Anatolia. Educated at Constantinople and at the law school in Paris, where he [illegible]. For twelve years [illegible] the Young Turkish party set in motion in Turkey in 1908. Was given a Government post in Tripoli. Vali of Erzerum 1908, of Erzeroum 1910, of Brusa in 1910, of Beirut, 1910–11, and again of Erzeroum 1911–12. Vali of Aleppo from 1914–16. Proceeded to Angora in April 1920, and was immediately appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs. Later in the year made several visits to Russia, and in February 1921 headed the Angora delegation to the Peace Conference at Visited London, Paris and Rome. Resigned on his return to Angora. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Tokat. In the following year his Opposition tendencies became pronounced, and in November he left the People's party to join the newly formed Progressive party. In 1926 he was tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, but was acquitted. Re-elected to be a Deputy in September 1927. Got a share of opprobrium in Mustafa Kemal's great speech of October 1927. Is a colossally built man, tall and stout, with a slight impediment in his speech. Liberal and energetic, and, apart from his violent Russophobia, moderate in his opinions.

Edib Servet Bey

Born at Constantinople in 1879. Son of Servet Pasha. Left the Military College in 1898. Served with the Salonica army and in Thrace till he entered the Staff College in 1909. In 1911 was attached to the Yamina Regiment and in 1913 promoted major. Held a staff appointment during the Balkan war and was on the military staff of the Turkish delegation to the 1913 Peace Conference at London. Later in the year was for a few months chief A.D.C. to the Heir Apparent. Served during the Great War at the Dardanelles, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and in

1917 was director of the Military Press Bureau. In March 1918 was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Roumania to conclude peace. During the armistice was a member of the Armistice Commission and director of Prisoners of War Section, and joined Mustafa Kemal in June 1920. Was afterwards chiefly engaged in arranging the supply of munitions, and in 1922 was for a time member of the Turco-Syrian Frontier Delimitation Commission. In November became Military Commandant of Constantinople and Acting Governor of Pera. Since November 1925 has been Deputy for Constantinople. In 1926 he represented Turkey at the Islamic Congress at Mecca and made history by appearing in a bowler hat. In 1927 was a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission, and is now a member of that for Foreign Affairs. Is a [illegible] member of the board of the Ish Bankasi, and is also Grand Master of the Angora Lodge of Freemasons.

Edib Bey is short, stout and jovial, with a face like the rising sun. On the rare occasions when, in the early hours, it has approached its zenith, he shows a taste for [illegible] and old Turkish songs, and has a good voice. Though not involved so deeply in politics as are his companions, he is in great favour with the Ghazi and is influential. While not appearing bright, he is shrewd and sharp, and probably [illegible] more hard thinking than any of the coterie. Speaks French, Italian, Russian and [illegible] native courtesy of manner and a passion for eating [illegible] dislikewise. Is perhaps the most popular Turk in Angora.

Enis Bey, Mehmed

Born about 1887. From 1907 until the Great War was an official of the Ministry [illegible] Consul at Ancona during the war, and in 1925 was [illegible]. In 1926, became Director General of Political Affairs at the Ministry [illegible] Affairs. In October was given the rank of Minister and in [illegible] Secretary-General [illegible] Affairs.

[illegible] and [illegible] in different health, has for some time carried the entire burden of the Foreign Ministry, and is universally liked by all who come in contact with him. Is straightforward and honest. The [illegible] tion of the Foreign Ministry out of complete chaos is due almost entirely to him, and his expected early departure will be generally regretted by the foreign diplomats at Angora. His wife is attractive, and has now lost much of her earlier shyness.

Ergumend Ekrem Bey

Born about 1888, the son of Rejat Ergumend Bey, [illegible]. Was Mayor of Pera during the armistice. In 1923-24 was Director of Press at Angora. In March 1924 became private secretary to President of Republic [illegible] of the President's wife, and in April became Assistant Prefect of Constantinople. Was dismissed in August, and remained unemployed till September 1927, when he again became Director of Press at Angora.

Ergumend Ekrem Bey is a short, stout man of a disagreeable type. He is certainly clever, but not at all to be trusted.

Fahreddin Pasha

Born at Constantinople in 1881. Educated at the Military School, where he was a classmate of Enver Pasha. 1909, in command of troops against the Kurds, near Dersim. Later became an active Committee of Union and Progress adherent, and in 1910 chief aide-de-camp to the War Office. Held various staff appointments before becoming Under Secretary for War in 1915. In 1916 commanded the Turkish division in Galicia, and in 1918 served on the Palestine front. Joined the Nationalist cause in January 1920. Later in the year [illegible] the XIIth Army Corps, which he retained until the [illegible] Turks over the Greeks. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Smyrna, and became [illegible] the VIth Army Corps. In October 1924 [illegible] for [illegible] duties. In November 1924 on the resignation of Ali [illegible] one of the three military inspectors-general, and in August 1926 was promoted divisional general of the first class, thus holding a higher rank than any of the Opposition Pashas. Was attached to the King of Afghanistan during the [illegible] visit to Angora in May 1928.

Fahreddin Pasha is a tall, well built man and a good type. He has been described as a rough diamond, but is honest, and, next to Fevzi Pasha, probably carries most weight in Turkish military circles.

Falih Rifki Bey

Born in 1894 at Constantinople, where he was educated. Was secretary to Jemal Pasha in Syria during the war, after which he took up journalism and for a time wrote articles for the *Intentist* "Aksham". In 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal and wrote for the Nationalist press. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Bolu, and until 1923–27 Assembly was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission. In the summer of 1927 went to Rio de Janeiro as chief Turkish delegate at the International Parliamentary Congress, and returned deeply impressed by the [illegible] derived from an Anglo-Saxon, as opposed to a Latin, education. Throughout 1922 he continued to be in great favour, and in May was one of the Turkish delegates at the International Press Congress at Cologne. On his return he became president of the Commission for the Reform of the Turkish Alphabet, and, after the Ghazi, probably done more than anyone else to secure the general adoption of the new alphabet. He is one of the editors of the "Hakimiet-i-Millie" and director of the Anatolian Agency.

Falih Rifki Bey is at the same time the youngest and the wildest of the President's boon companions. He is frank, has a fair knowledge of French, and is an ardent Westerner. Has tremendous driving power but is unfortunately a heavy drinker, and this and other excesses are unfortunately already beginning to tell their tale. An excellent bridge player. Wife, than he [illegible] undistinguished and lives mostly in Constantinople.

Fevzi Pasha, Mustafa.

Born in Constantinople in 1874. Graduated from the military college in 1898. Saw service in Macedonia. From then until 1913 held numerous staff appointments. During the war fought at Gallipoli, in the Caucasus and in Palestine, and was Chief of the General Staff, 1918–19. In November 1919 was sent [illegible] by the Constantinople Government and established relations with Mustafa Kemal. Held the Portfolio of War in the Constantinople Government during February and March 1920. He was throughout in close touch with Mustafa Kemal, and on his resignation he went to Anatolia and was at once appointed Minister for National Defence. Played a large part in building up the Kemalist army and in organising transport and the production of ammunition. In 1921 he became for a time rather a back number, but later re-established his position and became Chief of Staff. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople, and since then has been annually reappointed Chief of Staff. Resigned his Deputyship in October 1924 on opting for military duties. In the autumn of 1927 was suffering from diabetes and went to Europe for a cure. Since then his health has much improved.

Fevzi Pasha had the confidence of Enver Pasha during the Great War, and is now understood to have that of Mustafa Kemal. Reputed to be a capable officer, especially in matters relating to administration. Regarded by Halide Hanoum as a good soldier, but nothing more. Has considerable influence with the army. Was in his time a pan-Turanian as well as a pan-Islamist, and on the abolition of the Caliphate was regarded as the only rival of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, of whose manner of life he was understood strongly to disapprove. Was regarded as the leader of the war party at Angora during the Mosul crisis. Until recently was generally regarded as old-fashioned and kept his womenfolk secluded, but he is now seen more in public. Speaks a little French and is pleasant to talk to.

Haidar Bey

Born at Philippopolis about 1885. Having completed his studies at Galata Serai College, he entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and remained there till 1911 when he became second secretary at Sofia. Attended the London Peace Conference in 1913, and then returned at Sofia until February 1919, when he returned to the Ministry. June–December 1919 was Director of Press [illegible]. May 1920 became private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, retaining the post till the fall of the Constantinople Government in November 1922. Was a member of Turkish

Peace delegations to London in February 1921 and March 1922. Early in 1924 was a Turkish delegate for exchange of populations, and in August became first secretary at Berlin. In August 1925 was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen. In November 1928 was appointed Minister at Belgrade.

Haidar Bey is something of a [illegible] and rather an opportunist, having tacked fairly successfully to the various winds which have blown in Turkey during the last generation. He is, however, [illegible] good-tempered, as well as able and intelligent. Strongly favours close Balkan Turkish friendship.

Haki Shinasi Pasha

Born at Constantinople in 1868, the son of a foreign Ministry official. Studied first at the naval and afterwards at the medical school. Followed medical courses at Berlin, Heidelberg and Munich. While doctor at the Hamidié Hospital in 1904 was expelled to Anatolia. On his return in 1908 was reinstated with rank of colonel, and later promoted general. Retired in 1918, and from then till 1924 occupied himself with municipal affairs. Since November 1924 has been a Deputy for Constantinople and was in 1927–28 chairman of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly. In September 1925 was Turkish Red Crescent delegate at the International Red Cross Conference at Geneva. In March 1928 became chief inspector of the People's party for Constantinople and in the late summer mediated successfully in a Constantinople tramway strike.

Hamdi Bey, Mehmed

Born about 1880. During the armistice was head of the Refugee Section of the Ministry of Interior in Constantinople. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Erzinjan. In 1924 was assistant Turkish delegate for the exchange of Turco-Greek populations, and in 1925 became chief delegate on the appointment of Tevfik Rushdi Bey as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Negotiated Turco-Greek Agreement of 1925, and [illegible] Minister of Agriculture. Short and stoutish, Hamdi Bey speaks French [illegible] and moderate.

Hamdullah Subhi Bey

Born in Constantinople in 1881. Educated at Galata Serai College. In 1901 entered Ministry for Foreign Affairs as a clerk. Remained there till 1908, occupying himself in writing poetry. After the Constitution continued his literary efforts, and was the founder of a society of young poets which developed into the Turk Ojaghi. In 1910 appointed Professor of Turkish Literature at the Stamboul University. Was for a time in opposition to the Committee of Union and Progress, but after the Balkan war was on good terms with the Unionists. Later became the leading propagandist of pan-Turanianism. Travelled in Germany during the war. In the early armistice was with British in Palestine. In April 1920 joined Mustafa Kemal at Angora. Later in the year was for a time head of the Kemalist Intelligence Service. January–April 1921 Minister of Public Instruction. In April became Vice-President of the Assembly and occupied himself chiefly with the pan-Islamic Congress then held in Angora. Was again Minister of Public Instruction during the latter half of 1921 and was one of the first of the Angora leaders to make a speech against the Sultan. In 1923 was elected Deputy for Constantinople and later president of the Turk Ojaklari to which he devoted most of his time and energy. During 1923 was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly and from March till December 1925 was again Minister of Public Instruction, resigning finally on grounds of ill-health. September 1927 re-elected for Constantinople, and is a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly.

Hamdullah Subhi Bey is an idealist of the pan-Turanian school and is the moving spirit of the Turk Ojaklari. He is a keen modernisier and does not believe that the Turk is a religious person. Is not possessed of means, and his honesty is above reproach.

Hasan Bey

Born in Trebizond in 1884. Of Laz origin. Educated in Constantinople and in Paris where from 1909–14 he studied at the School of Political Science. During the war was head of the Economic Section of the Food Supplies Directorate, and in

December 1919 became Deputy for Trebizond. Joined the Kemalist movement in March 1920, and in May 1921 became Minister of Finance, holding the post until April 1922. By this time he was apparently very pro-Bolshevik in sympathy. From May until July 1922 Minister of Economics and Public Works. In November was appointed member of the Turkish delegation to the Lausanne Conference where he was the financial expert. September 1925 was again Minister of Economics. In March 1924, Minister of Commerce and in March 1925 again Minister of Finance, resigning in July 1926, ostensibly on grounds of ill health. Continued however to play an important part in Turkish financial matters. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927, and in November, when it was rumoured that he would re-enter the Ministry, he became first Vice President of the Assembly.

Hasan Bey fances himself as an expert in matters pertaining to finance. Knows French fairly well, is a man of private means, wily, and has a sense of humour. Not an attractive personality. Probably a bully, has been described as something of a [illegible] and most nervous losers the less optimistic when playing bridge, which he does very well. Has a young and attractive little wife.

Hasan Fehmi Bey

Born in Gumushane in 1877. Educated at Constantinople [illegible] 1902 to 1910 held various posts in the Turkish Civil Service. In 1910 Governor of Kerasunda, and in 1912 of Gumulgina. 1913–18, Deputy for Gumushane. Joined Mustafa Kemal in April 1919. In 1920 Vice-President of the Assembly. In 1922 was Minister of Finance. In 1923 elected Deputy for Gumushane. August 1923 to January 1924 again Minister of Finance, resigning because of a disagreement with [illegible] Bolshevik policy. November 1924 till March 1927 Minister [illegible]. In December 1925 became one of the Government delegates to the Mosul [illegible]. Was re-elected Deputy in September 1927 and is Vice President of the Assembly Finance Commission. Is now a member of the [illegible] Commission.

Hasan Fehmi Bey is not popular, is a strong man, and during his occupation of ministerial posts was little more than a nominee of Mustafa Kemal.

Hulusi Fuad Bey

Born in 1885 in Constantinople. Member of the Turkish Diplomatic Service. Was employed at Berlin and Vienna during the war, and at Christiania in 1923 when he received an appointment in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Angora. May 1924 became "chef du cabinet" of Adnan Bey, delegate at Constantinople of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In October went to London as a member of the Turkish delegation to the Congress of the League of Nations Societies. Resigned in March 1923 for reasons unknown, though suggested that (1) he had outshone Nusret Bey, (2) he was not fully sympathetic with Angora. In May appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Tokyo. In September 1928 was transferred in the same capacity to Nanking.

Hulusi Fuad Bey is a son of Deli Fuad Pasha, and his wife, who is a pleasant woman, is an excellent linguist, and is a daughter of Mahmud Muhtar Pasha. He is pleasant to deal with, accustomed to European ways, enjoys a good cigar, not very clever, and believed to be fairly straight.

Husein Jahid Bey.

Born at Constantinople in 1875. Took up the teaching profession, but in 1908 went over to journalism and became, till 1912, editor and part proprietor of the "Tanin" the official organ of the Committee of Union and Progress. From 1908 was one of the Constantinople Deputies in the Chamber, of which he became one of the vice-presidents during the war. Before the war was representative of the Turkish bondholders on the Public Debt. Played no great political part during the war, but at the armistice was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in April 1921, he spent the following year in Europe. On his return to Constantinople, he recommenced publication of the "Tanin," and for a time supported the Kemalist regime. Nevertheless he kept in touch with the surviving Committee of Union and Progress leaders, and gradually began to take a more independent line in his writings. By 1923 the Tanin had become the chief organ of the Opposition, and

in December Jahid Bey was tried and acquitted for the publication of the Aga Khan letter. In April 1925 he was again arrested for his publications, the "Tanin" was suppressed and Jahid Bey was sentenced by the Independence Tribunal to life-time confinement in a fortress (Chorum). He was again brought before the tribunal in August 1926 for alleged participation in the Smyrna plot, but was acquitted. He was soon afterwards released, and is now living quietly in Constantinople.

Tall and slight, Jahid Bey was remarkable for his biting satire, and was feared by his enemies. Has written several poems and produced a number of scholastic books. His former power was doubtless derived partly from his association with Javid, and, for the moment, the Government seem to have brought him to terms.

Husein Jevad Bey

Born in Constantinople in 1886. Educated at Galata Serai College, and entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1898. Appointed to Vienna (1899), Athens (1901), Cettinje (1905), St. Petersburg (1907), London (1909), Minister at Cettinje (1911) and at Belgrade (1913). 1917–19 was Minister at Stockholm, 1920–22 at Berne. In 1923 was appointed by Angora to Bucharest. Transferred to Paris in November 1924. His speech on presenting his credentials in February 1925 was misunderstood in the Assembly, and he was recalled. In April was appointed Minister at Athens. In December 1928 was appointed Ambassador at Tokyo.

Husein Jevad Bey is fat, affable, and very popular. Believed to be honest and well intentioned. Is rich, and has just married a young wife. Believed to be Angora's [illegible] in Paris, he knows French and German well, speaks English, plays golf and is responsible for its introduction into Montenegro.

Husein Rauf Bey

Born about 1885 in Rhodes. [illegible] Bey. In 1923 was appointed Turkish representative in Paris. [illegible] arrest in April 1925, he is still there, but his appointment as Ambassador at Moscow is confidently expected at an early date. Is of pleasant address, unmarried, speaks good French and is well looked upon in the highest Angora circles.

Husein Rauf Bey

Born at Constantinople in 1877. Educated at the Halki Naval College. Was for some years on the staff of Buchnam Pasha, and in 1910 became commander of the Hamidie, whose activities were famous during the Balkan war. At the outbreak of the Great War was in England supervising the building of the "Reshadie," of which he was to have had the command. Endeavoured to prevent Turkey's entry into the war. Was for a time chief of the Naval Staff, but spent most of the war period in Switzerland and Berlin. Was one of the Turkish signatories of the Mudros armistice, and for a month (October 1918) was Minister of Marine. During 1919 was in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Returned to Constantinople early in 1920 as the leader of the Kemalist Deputies in the newly elected Chamber, and in March was arrested and deported to Malta for political reasons. Released in November 1921, he immediately proceeded to Angora, becoming Minister of Public Works, but resigned two months later, probably owing to differences with Mustafa Kemal. March 1922, became Vice President of the Assembly, and soon showed himself to be the leader of the Moderate party. In May [illegible] strong anti-Bolshevik sympathies, and, his prestige rapidly growing, he was in July elected by the Assembly to be President of the Council. At this time Mustafa Kemal was understood to be very jealous of Rauf's power. In November he became Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople. Resigned the presidency of the Council in August because of reported differences with Mustafa Kemal. On the Caliphate question arising in 1923, Rauf Bey showed [illegible] of opposition, and by October was the real leader of the Opposition. In November he resigned from the People's party and was elected vice-president of the new Progressive party, which was abolished in March 1925. In the spring of 1926 he went abroad, and in June was in London in the company of Adnan Bey. In August [illegible] charge of participation in the plot against Mustafa Kemal and was sentenced to ten years' confinement in a fortress. In the autumn it was understood that he was still engaged in Opposition activities. He is still abroad.

and ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. He was, however, the subject of the most bitter attacks in Mustafa Kemal's lengthy review of the Turkish revolution in October 1927 attacks which made it clear that he was still feared by the President whose efforts to discredit him were so patently overdone

Husein Rauf Bey is the leader of the Opposition to Mustafa Kemal Speaks excellent English, and also French and German Is essentially a moderate, and prior to his deportation to Malta was decidedly pro British As a result of his treatment however, his feelings became very bitter, but, though these feelings still rankle it is understood that this phase has now passed and that he has to some extent reverted to his pro British sympathies. Is regarded by some as untrustworthy

Husrev Bey

Born in 1884 A schlier *de carrière* was military attaché at Athens at the outbreak of the Great War and later served on the staff of the Caucasus army as an intelligence officer During the early part of the Nationalist struggle, was private secretary to Mustafa Kemal Pasha February 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's Mission to Paris, London and Rome. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Urfa May 1924 became Minister at Budapest Later resigned his deputyship on opting for his Legation In August 1926 was appointed Minister at Sofia

Husrev Bey is tall and good looking, and is a friend of the Ghazi

Ibrahim Tali Bey

Born about 1885 Doctor by profession, and served in that capacity during the Great War Later became Turkish consul at Batum In February 1924 it was assured that he would succeed Adnan Bey as representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople, but, instead, he went to Salonica to investigate alleged abuses on the part of the Turkish consul there. In April was appointed Minister of Works In January 1926 elected Deputy for Diarbekr and returned to Angora for the following month In May became inspector-general of the People's party in Constantinople and, as such, had very extensive powers. Took a prominent part in the 1927 elections and was himself again returned for Diarbekr. In October became vice president of the Executive Council of the People's party, and in November a member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission In December resigned his deputyship on being appointed Inspector General of the Eastern Provinces, with extensive powers

Ibrahim Tali Bey is a short, bullet headed man and wears horn rimmed glasses He speaks French and a little English Is pleasant in manner and is generally regarded as very sound Is supposed to be decidedly Russophil

Ihsan Bey

Born about 1880. Entered army in 1900 and served in Thrace. Was a major during the Balkan war In March 1919 he was sentenced to death by the Constantinople Government in absentia for Anatolia He became Deputy for Iskilip in December 1921 In December 1923 was president of the Independence Tribunal sent to Constantinople in connexion with publication of the Angora letter Throughout 1924 he was one of the leaders of the extreme section of the People's party, and his speeches gave rise to much comment In December he became Minister for Marine holding that post till November 1927 Was also a member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly In December 1927 was arrested on a charge of peculation in connexion with naval contracts, and after a three months' State trial was sentenced in April 1928 to two years' imprisonment. Ihsan Bey is a rough and disagreeable type He speaks no European language

Ihsan Latif Pasha.

Born about 1875 in Constantinople Left military college as a staff captain in 1896 1900 01 military attaché at Athens. Joined the General Staff as Lieutenant Colonel in 1906 From 1908 till 1911 he served on the Staff of the VIIth Army, being then appointed its chief Later recalled to the Imperial General Staff, was placed in command of Edremid Division in 1912 and in 1914 was transferred with rank of brigadier general to the 34th division at Erzerum Was captured after the battle of Sari Kamish in January 1915, and sent as a prisoner

to Siberia, whence he escaped in December to China, Athens and Constantinople He then retired for a time interested himself in municipal politics Brought back after the armistice became in 1919 member of the Military Court of Constantinople in 1920 Inspector of Prisoners of War and in 1921 Director of the War Department This brought him in close touch with the Angora Government, and in December he became superintendent of their organisations in Constantinople Though officially dismissed from November 1922 he was charged with the defence of Constantinople in the event of war between Turkey and the Allies In July 1924 became Vali of Smyrna in 1926 Deputy for Constantinople and since 1927 has been a member (at the moment this is reported) of the Defence Commission of the Assembly

Ihsan Latif Pasha is a thin slender man with an usually large nose and mouth He is something of an opportunist.

Ismet Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Smyrna, where his father was a small landed proprietor Educated at the military college, and from 1906 12 saw service in Thrace and the Yemen. Joined the General Staff in 1914 1915 16 Chief of Staff of the Caucasus army 1917 18 in Palestine and became Under Secretary for War in the autumn of 1918 Early showed Nationalist sympathies and joined Mustafa Kemal in March 1920, at once becoming Chief of Staff of the Nationalist forces. Assumed command of the western army in December 1920, and was chief Turkish delegate at the Mudania conference in October 1922 In the same month he opened the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in November was chief Turkish delegate at Lausanne Signed the Treaty of Lausanne on behalf of Turkey in July 1923 and in October became Prime Minister, retaining the portfolio of Foreign Affairs At the same time Mustafa Kemal delegated to him the functions of president of the People's party Early in 1924, owing to his ill health his administration became more and more unpopular, and he resigned in November On the outbreak of the Kurdish revolt in March 1925 he was again summoned to power by Mustafa Kemal and has since been Prime Minister though, in August 1925, it was rumoured that his relations with the Ghazi had been strained owing to his opposition to the divorce of Latifé Hanum This rumour proved unfounded, and his position still appears as strong as ever In August 1926 he was promoted general of the first class, and in November 1927 after the general election, at which he was re-elected for Malatia, he reconstructed his Cabinet on more moderate lines

Ismet Pasha, in his army days, was regarded as an exceptionally capable staff officer, an indefatigable worker, and was, to a large extent, responsible for the final Nationalist success against the Greeks in 1922 At Lausanne he showed himself a stubborn but able negotiator Is courteous, and never shows signs of being ruffled, but suffers from deafness, which, however, he probably finds convenient at times. Is the only one of the prominent early Nationalist leaders who has retained the confidence of Mustafa Kemal, and remains, as he has been for the last six years, the President's right hand man. According to Halidé Hanem (July 1926), "He subordinates himself entirely to the Ghazi, and only wants to hang everybody" Though this estimate is probably overcoloured, there is certainly a hard strain in Ismet Pasha's character while as regards the Ghazi, it is probably truer to say that they make an admirable combination, Ismet Pasha not always being merely the organ of execution of reforms The reform of the Turkish alphabet was, for instance, probably originally the idea of Ismet Pasha

Jafer Tayar Pasha

Born in 1883 at Prishtina, Albania, of poor parents. Educated by the charity of an Albanian who sent him to the military school. Saw service in Macedonia, and in 1907 became a member of the Committee of Union and Progress. Served at the Dardanelles, and in 1918 had command of the forces in Northern Caucasus. Early in the armistice he showed himself violently anti British, and formed a military organisation at Adrianople, with which, in 1920, he threatened to resist the occupation of the town by the Greek army From then onwards was known as the hero of Adrianople for which, since 1920, he had been the senior Deputy In 1924 he commanded the troops in the Eastern Vilayets, but his enthusiasm for Mustafa Kemal began to cool, and in October he resigned his military duties to take up those of a Deputy In July 1926, along with Ali Fuad, Refet and Kiazim Kara Bekr Pashas, was arrested and tried at Smyrna for participation in the alleged plot

against Mustafa Kemal, but was acquitted, largely, it is understood, owing to the fear of the authorities of his influence with the army. Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927, and since then has been little heard of.

Jafer Tayar Pasha is a strong patriot, just and honest, and, as a result of his Adrianople experiences, is violently Graecophobe.

Jelal Nuri Bey

Born about 1880. A journalist; manager of a Young Turk newspaper in Constantinople in 1906. Expelled shortly after, and only returned after the Constitution, when he commenced publication of his paper "Ileri," which continued to appear till 1925. Was subventioned by the Germans during the war. In the early [illegible] his paper was a Kemalist organ until he was deported to Malta in March 1920. Shortly before, he had been elected Deputy for Gallipoli. Was [illegible] in March 1921 and at once took his seat in the Angora Assembly. He [illegible] member of the Constitutional Commission of the Assembly, in 1922 being president, and reporter from 1923 till 1927. During the constitutional crisis in March 1924 he was a [illegible] the President [illegible] the Republic [illegible] September 1927 was elected Deputy for Bolu [illegible] of the Constitutional Commission [illegible] the Deputies [illegible] the Assembly.

Jelal Nuri Bey is something of an intellectual, clever and an [illegible]. He is supposed to have Communist leanings, but for some time has been chiefly active in an anti Greek campaign nominally on behalf of Turkish non exchangeables.

Jemal Husni Bey

Born about 1887. An ex officer. Has been Deputy for Gumushané since February 1925. 1927 he was reporter of Assembly Commerce Commission and is now a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. In March 1928 became chief Turkish delegate for the exchange of populations.

Jemal Husni Bey is pleasant to talk to, speaks [illegible] and plays a fair game of bridge. He is however very impetuous, and on several occasions has nearly torpedoed the Graco Turkish negotiations.

Jemil Bey

Born about 1885. Has followed a military career. About 1906 was "some unlucky place" at Salonica and at that time saved Mustafa Kemal from arrest by Abdul Hamid's secret police. During the armistice, when he held the rank of staff lieutenant colonel, was in command of the defence forces against the Greeks at Chatalja. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Rodosto. In May 1924 appointed general secretary of the People's party, and in January 1925 became Minister of the Interior. Though for a time he did well and exercised considerable influence, his position became weakened early in 1927 owing to alleged irregularities in connexion with Government contracts, and though re-elected Deputy in September he ceased to hold ministerial rank on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet in November 1927. In the same month he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Is now one of the vice-presidents of the People's party and chairman of the Internal Affairs Commission.

Jemil Bey is reserved and intelligent and speaks only a little French.

Jemil Bey, Professor.

Born about 1880. Has followed a legal career and specialises in international law, in which he is now the recognised Turkish authority. Was chief adviser to the Turkish delegation before The Hague Tribunal in 1927 in connexion with the "Lotus" incident, in which judgment was given in favour of Turkey. From 1922 to 1924 was one of the chief movers in a Turkish association for supporting the League of Nations, and in October 1924 attended the congress of League of Nations Societies in London.

Jemil Bey is quiet, reserved and almost entirely absorbed in his studies. His family have received a European education. Is a keen gardener. Somewhat abrupt of manner.

Jerad Pasha

Born in Constantinople in 1873. Educated at the Galata Serai College and at the military school. In 1893 aide-de-camp to the Sultan. Later sent to Germany to complete his military studies and on his return rapid promotion owing to his father's influence at the palace. In 1913 appointed General Officer Commanding the Dardanelles Defences and was in command of the Palestine army at the time of the Turkish collapse in 1918. In November 1918 became Chief of General Staff, and in December was Minister for War. Obstructed the Allies during the early armistice and from the first was one of the strongest and cleverest of the Nationalist supporters in Constantinople. From October 1919 till January 1920 was again Chief of the General Staff. In March 1920 was arrested and deported to Malta. Released in October 1921, he at once proceeded to Angora, and in January 1922 was given the command of the Turkish troops near the Iraq frontier. Elected Deputy in July 1923, he took no part in the proceedings of the Assembly, having in the meantime been appointed military inspector-general in the eastern provinces. In October 1924 was in supreme command of the Turkish forces on the Iraq frontier when the *status quo* difficulty arose. Later in the month he resigned from his military duties in order to take up his deputyship. Resigned from the latter two months later. In January 1925 was attached to the Iraq Frontier Commission in the capacity of assessor, and showed himself pro-Turkish. In September and December was attached to the Turkish Mosul delegation to Geneva. In April 1926 became a member of the Supreme Military Council and in August was promoted to the rank of general of the first class.

Jerad Pasha knows French and German well. Is very Germanophil and something of an opportunist. Has good manners, is well educated and a capable administrator. He is old fashioned, drinks little and says his prayers, but is stated to be jealous of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who served under him at the Dardanelles.

Jerad Abbas Bey

Born about 1890. Early in 1919 became aide de camp to Mustafa Kemal and at the same time was elected Deputy for Bolu. Had control over the activities of the Nationalist secret agents throughout 1920. In July 1921 went on a mission to Baku with a view to organising trouble in [illegible] and later became accredited Kemalist representative at Sofia. He returned to Angora early in 1922 and in the autumn was one of the instigators of the Turkish insurrectionist movement in Western Thrace directed against Greek rule. In 1923 was re-elected Deputy for Bolu, and at the end of the year there was much talk and intrigue in regard to his proposed definite appointment as Turkish Minister at Sofia. In 1924 was president of the Turkish Aeroplane Association in the interest of which he showed great activity. Was re elected Deputy in September 1927, and since November 1927 has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. Maintains close contact with the President of the Republic.

Kemal Aziz Bey.

Born about 1893. Has a certain claim to fame as being the first official of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Angora. Held various posts in the Ministry till in December 1926 he became private secretary to the Minister. Though small and unimpressive in appearance, he is capable and helpful, and by no means belies the fairly literal translation of his name—"The Perfect Dear."

Kiazim Pasha

Born at Diarbekr in 1879. Educated at the military school. 1904–8 employed at the Ministry of War. 1909–12, and again 1913–14, military attaché at Rome. 1915 Chief of Staff of the 1st Army at the Dardanelles, under Liman von Sanders, which he accompanied throughout the war, and finally to Palestine. In November 1918 [illegible] of the Military Council. Showed no violent anti-Ally feelings during the armistice and in June 1920 after joining in an effort to secure a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople, joined Mustafa Kemal, though at the time expressing the continuation of his sympathy with Great Britain. In October 1920 was appointed Director-General of Administration of the Kemalist Western Army and in October 1921 Under-Secretary of National Defence. In 1922–23 was

in command of the Turkish troops on the Chanak front. In October 1921 succeeded Jevad Pasha as an inspector of the IIIrd Army. In the spring of 1925 was in charge of the troops for the suppression of the Kurdish revolt, and in June resigned his military inspectorate. In August 1926 became Vali of Samsun.

Kiazim Pasha was highly esteemed by Liman von Sanders, and is an industrious, well trained and efficient officer. He is not a political intriguer, has moderate views, and has never expressed a preference for any particular party. At Samsun he has earned a reputation for energy and efficiency. He is friendly with foreigners, and is held in high esteem by the foreign colony at Samsun.

Kiazim Pasha Kouprulu.

Born at Veles about 1884. Has followed a military career, and was early a staunch adherent of the Committee of Union and Progress. Held various commands in the eastern vilayets, and during the war was Director-General of Administration to Ali Fuad Pasha. In July 1919 was in command of troops at Balikeser, and there worked for the Nationalist cause. In the autumn raised irregular bands round Panderma to support Mustafa Kemal, who appointed him Governor of the Balikeser area in January 1920. In June was given command on the northern front, and after the battle of Sakaria was promoted Pasha, becoming in the following month, January 1922, Minister of National Defence. Held this post till November 1924, when he became President of the Assembly. In August 1926 was promoted to be division-al general of the first class. Following the general election in September 1927, at which he was again returned for Karasi, he was in November re-elected President of the Assembly.

Kiazim Pasha is [illegible] well educated [illegible] a little [illegible]. He is [illegible] though reserved. [illegible] does not strike one as a strong character. Has poor health. Is anti-German and anti Bolshevik, and during the Nationalist struggle made it clear that he was anti Greek [illegible] Ali. Is believed to be influential, but is not an attractive personality. A [illegible] player.

Kiazim Pasha, Mehmed.

Born about 1883. Earlier record is not known, but in 1925 he became Chief of the Turkish General Staff. Was promoted General of Division in 1926, and in November 1928 was the chief of the Turkish Military Mission then sent to Afghanistan.

Kiazim Pasha has a precise manner of speaking, but is pleasant and reasonable. Supposed to be rather bigbound as regards military matters. He is married to a sister of the late Enver Pasha.

Kiazim Kara Bekr Pasha.

Born at Monastir in 1878 of poor parents. Has throughout his life followed a military career. Held numerous staff appointments during the war. Immediately after the armistice was given command of the XVth Army Corps at Erzerum, where in 1919 he established contact with Mustafa Kemal, definitely joining the latter in September. In 1919–20 was responsible for the consolidation of the Nationalist position in the eastern vilayets and for the repression of the Armenians. At the same time was closely in touch with Bolshevik agents. Was throughout inclined to act independently of Angora and for a time his relations with Mustafa Kemal were strained. In September 1921 represented Turkey at the Kars Conference, when he incurred the displeasure of Angora by adopting too conciliatory an attitude towards the Bolsheviks, and also, probably, because of his great influence in the eastern provinces. In 1922 was given full powers there, and for a time was in touch with Enver Pasha. Finally arrived at Angora in October 1922, and after being for a time unemployed, probably owing to the jealousy of Mustafa Kemal became one of the military inspectors. Elected Deputy for Constantinople in 1923. Resigned his military duties in October 1924. [illegible] resigned from the People's party in November when [illegible] the new Progressive party which was suppressed in March 1925. He [illegible] in July 1926 was arrested and tried at Smyrna on a charge of plotting against the Ghazi, but was acquitted, probably owing to his influence with the army, which it was later stated wished to make him the leader of an Opposition movement.

Ceased to be a Deputy in September 1927. Since then little has been heard of him, though his influence particularly with the army still remains considerable.

Colonel Rawlinson says: "Kiazim Kara Bekr Pasha is the best example of a first-class Turkish officer that I have met. Any army under him will be well commanded." Possessed of a naturally quick and bright intelligence, he is master of every branch of his profession, and most conscientious in the performance of his duties. Is straightforward, and much of the Nationalist success was due to his competent handling of the Eastern army. In the past has been described as "Mr. Kiazim facing both ways."

Kiliç Ali Bey.

Born about 1882. Before and during the war was an [illegible]. In 1919 he organised a tough lot of bashi-bozuks at Balikeser. Next heard of in Cilicia in 1920–21, when he acted with great energy against the Armenians, thereby earning the sobriquet of "Kiliç" (sword). At the same time changed his real name from Asaf to Ali, and became Deputy for Aydin, which he still represents in the Assembly. In July 1924 assaulted Jelal Nuri Bey with impunity in his office, and two months later a companion of Mustafa Kemal on his tour of the eastern provinces, an association much criticised at the time. Continued, however, to be one of the chief associates of the Ghazi, and in March 1925 became a member of the Angora Independent Tribunal. In February 1927 wounded Salih Bey in a brawl arising out of the Swedish railway contract. The independence tribunals being suppressed in March, Kiliç Ali then devoted himself to his numerous commercial activities till the summer, when he was in attendance on the Ghazi at Constantinople. In November was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow in connexion with the Russian revolution anniversary celebrations, and in the same month became a member of the executive [illegible] People's party and of the Defence Commission of the Assembly.

Kiliç Ali Bey's character is clear from his record. He is a brute and a bully with no apparent compensating features. He is, however, influential, owing to his friendship with the Ghazi, though, outwardly at least, that friendship seems to be subject to a good deal of ebb and flow.

Mahmud Bey.

Born about 1880. At one time before the war was tutor to one of the Imperial Princes. An army officer, he occupied his spare time in writing and translating military text books. Was an A.D.C. to Mustafa Kemal in the Independence War. Since 1923 has been Deputy for Sert. By 1926 had become chief editor of the semi-official Hakimiet i Milliye (Angora) and Milliet (Constantinople), was a member of the executive bureau of the People's party and president of the fifth section of the Assembly. In November 1927 he became reporter of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month was a member of the Turkish mission sent to Moscow for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Went to Paris and London, and was much pleased with his reception in London. He is also vice-president of the Turkish Aviation League.

Mahmud Bey is the leading journalist in Turkey and the President's man of business. Is very influential, but not much seen in public. Speaks French very well and is capable. Appearance is very oriental, of an almost negroid type.

Mahmud Esad Bey.

Born at Smyrna in 1886. Studied law in Constantinople and Switzerland, obtaining his degree in Fribourg in 1911. In 1912 established himself in Smyrna as a lawyer, and remained obscurely there till 1919. In May 1920 went to Angora and in the following month was appointed Deputy for Smyrna, one still retains this seat. In May 1922 published a violent article against the Sublime Porte and the Sultan, and in June became secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In July became Minister of Economics, holding the post till September 1923, when he retired to Smyrna and was understood to have become an Oppositionist. In March 1924 opposed the grant of veto and dissolution powers to the President of the Republic. In November became Minister of Justice, retaining this portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. In August–September 1926 Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absence of Tewfik

Rushdi Bey at Geneva. In 1926 and 1927 he made several visits to Europe in connexion with the "Lotus" question, and was chief Turkish delegate before The Hague Tribunal in the summer of 1927, when the Turkish case was upheld.

Esad Bey speaks French and German as well as Turkish and Greek. He is considered to be one of the best Turkish specialists in Constitutional Law. He showed great energy in the introduction of Penal, Commercial and Civil Codes based on Western models, the latter of which has revolutionized Turkish family life.

Mehmed Rejeb Bey.

Born about 1880. An ex-army officer. In 1922 became secretary-general of the People's party, and as such had considerable power. July 1923 Deputy for Kutahia. May 1924 became Minister of Interior and resigned from the secretaryship of the People's party. In the autumn of 1924 was considered one of the leading men of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet and a likely candidate for the premiership, but was maintained in his post on Fethi Bey becoming Prime Minister in November. In January 1925 resigned owing to his objections to the Cabinet proposal to postpone partial elections, and resumed his post as general secretary of the People's party. In March on the return of Ismet Pasha to power became Minister for National Defence. Early in 1927 his influence was slight on the wane. He was re-elected Deputy for Kutahia in 1927, but ceased to hold ministerial rank when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November, and a few days later became chairman of the Defence Commission of the Assembly. October 1928 became Minister of Public Works.

Mehmed Rejeb Bey was unknown until the later years of the Nationalist struggle and owed his position to his friendship with the President of the Republic. A burly figure, he is said to be ambitious, with a perpetual desire to become Prime Minister. He is however, something of an extremist.

Munir Bey, Mehmed.

Born about 1875. Educated at the Mulkié College and Law School at Constantinople. After obtaining his diploma of doctor of law, was appointed one of the assistant legal advisers of the Sublime Porte, holding this post till 1916, when he became chief legal adviser. As such attended the conference of Brest-Litovsk. Accompanied Izzet Pasha on the reconciliation mission to Anatolia in December 1920. At once placed his services at the disposal of the Nationalist Government, and became legal adviser. Was Turkish legal adviser at the Lausanne Conference, and returned to hold the post at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs till February 1925, when he was appointed Turkish Minister at Berne.

Munir Bey is a pretty good lawyer and rather the simple old fashioned kind of Turkish official. He has a reputation for honesty and created a good impression on the British delegates at the Lausanne Conference.

Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Born in 1880 at Salonica, son of an Albanian father and Turkish mother. Had an entirely Turkish upbringing, and was educated at the Mulkié school at Salonica and at the military college in Constantinople, from which he passed out with the rank of captain in 1905. In 1907 he was for a time exiled to Damascus. Receiving a staff appointment at Salonica, he early joined the Committee of Union and Progress, and was at Salonica when the Constitution was proclaimed. Soon after quarrelled with the Committee of Union and Progress. 1910–11 served in Tripoli; 1913 became aide-de-camp to the Heir Apparent and military attaché at Sofia. In October 1914 was given a command at Gallipoli and distinguished himself at Anafarta in 1915 when he alone saved the situation in defiance of von Sanders's orders. Later in the same year he fell foul of Enver Pasha and remained unemployed till 1917, when he was given a Caucasus command. In 1917–18 had two commands of the VIIth Army on the Palestine front but quarrelled bitterly with von Falkenhayn, Liman von Sanders and Enver Pasha. In May 1919 was sent to Anatolia to stem the rising tide of national sentiment, and his arrival at Samsun inaugurated the period of leadership of the movement. On the 18th July announced his resignation from the army and devotion to the Nationalist cause, and on the 27th summoned the first Nationalist Congress at Erzerum. In November and December the second Nationalist Congress at Sivas and in December at Angora. During the following months he tried to dissuade

the Constantinople Government, and in April 1920 established an independent Government at Angora. In May became President of the First Assembly and proceeded to organise the Nationalist army. In 1921 received Russian and Afghan Ambassadors at Angora, and in November was vested with absolute authority for the prosecution of the war. Early in 1922 had some difficulties with Assembly but his dictatorship was successfully prolonged for a fixed period, and with the Nationalist victory over the Greeks in August–September his ascendancy was complete. In November secured from the Assembly the abolition of the Sultanate; this step gave rise to opposition in the Assembly, and he dismissed it in April 1923. In the following election Kemalist nominees were to a large extent elected, Mustafa Kemal himself becoming one of the Deputies for Angora. In August was re-elected President of the Assembly, and in October, on the emergence of a Cabinet crisis, he proclaimed himself President. Early in March 1924 secured the abolition of the Caliphate, though in the same month the right of veto was refused to him, while in April the supreme command of the army in time of peace was vested in the Chief General Staff. Since that time the President has inspired the policy of the Government, and in all essentials controlled the Administration through his nominees. Though in many respects his policy is but a continuation of that of the Committee of Union and Progress, the drive which has put the recent great movement through has been mainly his own. In August 1925 he divorced his wife, Latife Hanum, whom he had married in 1922, and in the same month he decreed the abolition of the fez. During the summer of 1926 a plot to assassinate him was discovered, and as a result a number of Opposition leaders were hanged. Early in 1927 he showed signs of giving way, and he moderated his manner of life. He was also seen much more in public and his behaviour became more decorous. In the summer, after an absence of eight years, he at last visited Constantinople, and from there controlled the general election in September, at which only his nominees were returned. In October he made further history by delivering a six-day speech before a party congress, in which he reviewed the whole history of the Turkish revolution. In the following month he was unanimously re-elected President of the Republic.

In May 1928 the King of Afghanistan paid him an official visit in Angora, being the first head of a foreign State to do so. As in 1927, the summer was spent in Constantinople and was followed by an extensive provincial tour during which the campaign for the reform of the alphabet was launched, and the Ghazi—a title assumed after the victory over the Greeks—earned the sobriquet of "Professor in Chief."

Mustafa Kemal Pasha is about 5 ft. 7 in. tall, with dark hair, complexion and [illegible] grey eyes with a fixed expression. Has strong [illegible] and is now inclined to stoutness. Possesses an impressive delivery in speech-making, but has little personal attraction. He is driven rather than driven, is jealous of opposition, and can brook no opposition, as the record of his life shows. From boyhood he has been an excessive drinker, and is still given to frequent excesses. Is, however, possessed of an iron will and constitution.

Nureddin Pasha.

Born at Constantinople in 1875. On leaving the military school in 1894 became aide-de-camp to Sultan Abdul Hamid, remaining at the palace till 1909. During the war fought at the Dardanelles and commanded in Iraq, where his success is said to have aroused the jealousy of Enver Pasha. Became Military Commandant of Smyrna in 1918 and Vali of the town in February 1919. In May 1920 offered his services to bring about a reconciliation between Angora and Constantinople. Joined Mustafa Kemal in the following month. In command of the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas in April 1921, but was dismissed in November for hanging certain Kurdish chiefs. In September 1922 was in command of the 1st Army, which captured Smyrna, and as Governor-General of the town can hardly escape responsibility for the burning of it. At this time was opposed to the extreme section of the Nationalists, who favoured radical dynastic changes, and by the end of the year had become unpopular with Mustafa Kemal. Throughout the winter, however, held command of the Turkish troops [illegible]. In July 1923 was [illegible] commander of the IIIrd Army and owing to his Opposition [illegible] Deputy. Here [illegible] Brussa [illegible] 1921 [illegible] elected Deputy, even though standing as an Opposition [illegible]. In the following month his election was invalidated on technical

grounds but at a new election he was returned almost unopposed. In November 1925 he spoke strongly in the Assembly against the law making the wearing of the hat compulsory. But thereafter took no part in its debates and in September 1927 ceased to be a Deputy.

Naredjan Pasha is extremely deliberate and dignified in his manner. Is somewhat vain but a capable, sober, straightforward and honest. Is one of the best Turkish boxing players and fashioned recently many an act of sympathy with the President's modernising tendencies in Turkey.

Yussef Bey

Born about 1878 at Scutari, Asiatic side. Educated at the Mulkié College at Constantinople, after which he took up a course of jurisprudence at the law school. In 1903 he was a clerk in the Legal Advisers Department at the Sublime Porte. In 1910 he became director of this department. In 1921 accompanied Tewfik Pasha's delegation to London as the approved legal adviser. Was at the Turkish delegation at Lausanne. Thereafter Minister Resident and legal adviser of the Angora Government until 1924 when he was appointed representative in Constantinople of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A man who was always ready to take reasonable views and in such fashion he could be helpful. In June 1927 he became Chief Justice in Constantinople, a post which he held having been appointed President of the newly constituted Council of State.

Yussef Bey was [illegible] the well [illegible] on which he is [illegible] as a matter of [illegible]. He is a man of quiet and studious disposition and has a deep knowledge of the [illegible] works in French. Is personally [illegible] and [illegible] Turkish Parliament. His work is [illegible] and [illegible].

Yussef Sadik Bey

Born about 1877. Director of Sadik Pasha's office. Attaché at Constantinople and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Served in Sofia, Athens, Constantinople and at Vienna. Entered the Diplomatic Service and served at Berlin and Vienna until about 1900. Became assistant legal adviser to the Sublime Porte. Owing to bad health was for several years employed in Turkey. Only 1913 after having been a Deputy for a few months he became Minister at Belgrade and afterwards at The Hague, where he remained until 1923. In 1927 he became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry but resigned in 1928 for reasons of health. In September 1927 became Deputy for Smyrna and two months later member of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission. Appointed Minister at Belgrade in February 1928 he resumed his deputyship but was recalled in October. Ill health having made it impossible for him to keep his new diplomatic post.

Yussef Sadullah Bey is a cultured and very popular both in European and Turkish circles. He is also a public [illegible] but his poor health, a hereditary weakness, both his father and brother having committed suicide during fits of temporary insanity, has prevented him from attaining the distinction to which he would otherwise appear entitled. Is of independent means, having married an Egyptian Princess, the daughter of the late Hilmi Pasha. Is not a politician.

Rauch Raif Bey

Born in 1874, the son of Raif Pasha. Entered Turkish Foreign Office in 1897, went to London in 1901 and later to Berlin, Brussels, Washington and again London where he was counselor in 1914. Remained in Europe during war and after it was Minister at Madrid. In 1927 became political adviser at Ministry for Foreign Affairs and in January 1929 was appointed Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen and Helsingfors.

Raouf Raif Bey is a short [illegible] and has a somewhat coarse appearance. Speaks French [illegible] but unfortunately addicted to drink.

Rahmi Bey

Born at Salonica in 1874, [illegible] of Macedonian landowner stock. [illegible] at the schools of law and

political science in Paris. While in the French capital he came into contact with the Young Turks, and at the Constitution was elected Committee of Union and Progress Deputy for Salonica. A close friend of Talat Pasha and a most influential member of the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress. In 1914 was appointed Vali of Smyrna, holding the post right through the war. Fanatical on his hatred of the Greeks. Made a show of his anti-Christian feelings throughout. His treatment of better-class foreigners was good, and Armenians suffered less at Smyrna than in any part of Turkey. Talat Pasha gave the Maltese colony into his care. In 1919 was arrested for political reasons and deported to Malta, and on his release in 1921 proceeded to Europe. Returned to Smyrna in 1924 and to a returning fear from British firms, but was unable to secure election as a Deputy there. Defeated owing to his pronounced Opposition sentiments. Continued to be in touch with the Opposition movement and in the spring of 1926 proceeded to Russia. In August was tried by a court of inquiry on the alleged plot against the President of the Republic, was sent to Istanbul and confined in the fortress.

Rahmi Bey is extremely loyal. He is [illegible] untrustworthy. At Smyrna showed [illegible] energy. His speech was so strong that he was [illegible] Constantinople. Connected [illegible] Opposition movement [illegible] Madrid. Well known to the British.

Rifat Rauf Bey

Born about 1880 at Smyrna. Nephew of Rauf Pasha. Entered the Foreign Office in 1897. Since 1923 [illegible] Deputy for Smyrna. Became Minister of Commerce in May 1926 and in November 1927 [illegible] construction of a great Pasha's Chair [illegible] coming with it that at Agriculture.

Rifat Bey [illegible] Turkish. He is a very [illegible] man [illegible].

Refet Pasha

Born in 1877 at Prevesa. 1898 Pasha was employed in the gendarmerie to Macedonia. Connected with the Young Turks. In the Army of Liberation in 1908. Went to the staff school in 1911 and was sent to Damascus in 1912. Became famous as the commander of Urfa in 1916 during the siege. Received the command of the XXIIIrd Army Corps in Palestine. At the armistice was appointed Commander-in-chief of the gendarmerie and in May 1919 commanded the IIIrd Army Corps at Sivas. Landed at Samsun with Mustafa Kemal and became one of the latter's chief lieutenants. In September commanded the Nationalist forces at Konia and in March 1920 was appointed commander on the Adana front. In September was appointed Minister of the Interior, holding the post till April 1921. After holding various commands was Minister of Natural Defence from July 1921 to January 1922. After the Mudania Conference was appointed Governor of Thrace but remained in Constantinople where he aided in overthrow the Sultan's Government and established National authority. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Constantinople and soon afterwards resigned his appointment, which no longer had any *raison d'être*. In the autumn began to show Opposition tendencies over the proclamation of the republic and was in close touch with the Colonel and Rauf Bey. Resigned his deputyship in May 1924 and thereafter lived quietly in Constantinople, though maintaining close touch with Rauf and other Opposition leaders. In October withdrew his resignation of the deputyship and formally joined forces with the Oppositionists, resigned from the People's party and became one of the leaders of the new Progressive party. In July 1926 was tried for participation in the plot against the life of the President of the Republic and was acquitted, supposedly because of his prestige with the army. In October commenced his imprisonment of political [illegible] and in November finally resigned his deputyship.

Refet Pasha is one of the most able of the Nationalist leaders and a consummate political adventurer. In 1922 [illegible] himself to be an extremely keen and clever tactician. Despite his prestige [illegible] above represents [illegible] can only fail to play a prominent part in any future Opposition movement in Turkey.

Refik Bey, Dr

Born about 1878. Studied at Stamboul medical school and in Germany and later practised medicine. Was an early supporter of Mustafa Kemal and from 1921 to 1923 was Deputy for Bayazid in the first Angora Assembly. Since 1923 has been one of the Deputies for Constantinople. Except for the period November 1924 to March 1925, when Fethi Bey was Prime Minister, Refik Bey has been Minister of Health since October 1923. He has discharged the duties of his post with marked ability, and the great improvement in Turkish sanitary conditions and the successful draining of the Angora marshes are outstanding tributes to his ability and energy. His Ministry is easily the most efficient [illegible] the Turkish [illegible] Departments. [illegible] chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Turkish Red Crescent.

Generally known as "Dr. Bey," Refik Bey is universally popular. Not much seen in public, he is particularly fond of bridge, at which he is an indifferent player. Speaks fair French. Is unconcerned with politics, and is almost exclusively taken up with his work. Is probably a martinet in his Department. Is now unfortunately in poor health.

Reshid Galib Bey, Dr

Born about 1887 in Rhodes. Studied at the [illegible] and later followed medical courses in France and Switzerland. Joined the Young Turk movement [illegible] medical doctor [illegible] Deputy [illegible] 1925 and [illegible] March 1925 till his suspension in March 1927 was a member of the Angora Independent Tribunal. Was understood in 1926 to have insisted on the hanging of David Bey against the opinion of his colleagues. Is a member of the Central Committee of the Turk Ojaks and of the Executive Council of the People's party, and is secretary of the Public Health Commission of the Assembly.

Reshid Galib Bey is of rather a good type and pleasant in conversation, but is now showing signs of coarsening. He is a brother of Hussein Ragib Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow.

Rushen Eshref Bey

Born about 1890 in Constantinople. Before the war taught in the English boys' school in Constantinople. Was associated with Mustafa Kemal from the inception of the Nationalist movement and was a member of the first Angora Assembly. Has been a Deputy for Afion Kara Hissar since 1923. Has never occupied any prominent official position, but has for years been one of the Ghazi's most intimate friends. 1925–27 was secretary of the Assembly Foreign Affairs Commission, and for the last three years has been the chief secretary of the Assembly. In the summer of 1927 he represented the Turkish press at an international congress in London, whence he returned deeply impressed by English education and strong in culture. In June 1928 was a delegate to the International Parliamentary Congress in Paris, and on his return was a prominent part in the campaign for the reform of the alphabet.

Rushen Eshref Bey is an attractive personality. He is cultured and speaks remarkably well. He is [illegible] extensively and is extremely intelligent, but is probably constitutionally lazy, and, though fond of writing, in practice produces little. While accused by some of insincerity, he is excellent company, is very fond of bridge, and has a pleasant wife whose good looks and other attractions place her well ahead of other ladies in Angora society.

Sabri Bey Mehmed

Born about 1883. Before the war was a small post office employee. During the war was secretary-general of the Committee of Union and Progress, and for his activities in this connexion was deported to Malta in 1919. He returned and became in 1922 Director of Post and Telegraphs at Angora and went to Germany where he studied wireless. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Saruban, and in August became first Vice-President of the Assembly. In March 1925 became Minister for Agriculture. He was re-elected Deputy in September 1927 but resigned to hold office

in November on the suppression of the Ministry of Agriculture as a separate Department. In the same month he became a member of the Assembly Budget Commission, and in November 1928 chairman of the Assembly Accounts Commission.

Sabri Bey is of a rough but genial manner. He has great ideas about developing agriculture in Turkey. In November 1925, during a visit to Moscow, he gave evidence of strong pro-Russian sentiments.

Safvet Zia Bey

Born about 1885. A former staff colonel. Was on the staff of Izzet Pasha in the Yemen in 1912. During the war served at Gallipoli and in Mesopotamia. In 1920 was military attaché at Moscow. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Ismid. Since March 1925 he has been secretary general of the People's party, and as such has exercised much power and influence. He has complete control over the party, and was responsible for the arrangements for the complete success of the Kemalist candidates in the general election of September 1927, he himself being returned for Erzerum. Since November 1927 he has been President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and in the same month he headed a Turkish mission to Moscow for the celebrations in connexion with the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Constitution. From there went on to Paris and London.

Safvet Bey is probably a *dönme*, and is extremely capable, but is possibly just as untrustworthy. He is, however, friendly and sociable, and a good bridge player. A close friend of the Ghazi, he is extremely ambitious, and may be expected to go far.

Shakir Bey

Born about 1882. Educated at Constantinople, and early entered the service of the Ministry of Interior. Was for a time *mektubji* (clerk) of the Adrianople Vilayet and later became Kaimakam of Ardahan. Became Deputy for Gallipoli in 1920 and throughout the armistice was one of the moving spirits of the Kemalist movement in Thrace. In 1921 was the unofficial Kemalist agent in Sofia, but continued to devote most of his attention to the Thracian movement. In October 1922 he was appointed Vali of Adrianople and established the Kemalist Administration there. Early in the following year he transferred his activities to Constantinople, where he was for the Vali. Has been Deputy for Adrianople since 1923 and for the last three years chairman of the Budget Commission of the Assembly. He is also a member of the Executive Bureau of the People's party.

Shakir Bey is a man of wide education and speaks several European languages. He has some reputation as an administrator, and for the last few years has taken a prominent part in Turkish financial and economic matters.

Shevki Bey, Ali

Born in Constantinople about 1884, the son of a majordomo of Tewfik Pasha who saw to the education of his retainer's son at the Galata Serai Lycée, and in 1905 secured him a post in the Foreign Ministry. Accompanied Tewfik Pasha on a mission to Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburgh in 1909. Returned to the Ministry and in 1914 became private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, holding this post throughout the war. Accompanied Tewfik Pasha to the Paris Peace Conference in 1920 and was later for the year appointed Minister at Stockholm. In 1922 was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Izzet Pasha in the last Constantinople Government till the collapse of the latter in November. Angora having need of his services, he was summoned to the capital, in 1925 was head of the Commercial Section of the Foreign Ministry, and in August 1926 was a Under-Secretary, holding this post till September 1927 when he was elected Deputy for Erzerum. In November he became a member of the Budget Commission of the Assembly. For the last two years he has been chief Turkish delegate for the negotiation of commercial and consular conventions with foreign States.

As his record shows, Shevki Bey owes everything to his venerable patron, Tewfik Pasha. He is short and unimpressive, but has a certain capacity. Has become much more expansive and affable since his election as a Deputy.

Shukri Bey Sarajoglu

Born about 1885. Nothing [illegible] his early history. Since July 1923 has been a Deputy for Smyrna. In [illegible] 1923 became president of Foreign Affairs

Commission of Assembly. November 1924–March 1925 was Minister of Public Instruction in Fethi Bey's Cabinet. In July 1925 became chief Turkish delegate on the Commission for the Exchange of Populations. In this capacity visited Geneva in December 1926, and in the same month signed the Turco-Greek Convention. In May 1927 he was given charge of negotiations for purchase of Anatolian Railways which was concluded in December 1928, and in November, when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet he became Minister of Finance. As such he was intimately concerned in the settlement of the coupons question in 1928.

Shukri Bey is delicate in appearance, and is probably a Moderate. It is believed to be very capable, has plenty of drive, is popular and was on excellent terms with his Greek opposite number in exchange matters. In the last two years his position has become strong, and he may be a Minister for Foreign Affairs in the future.

Shukri Kaya Bey

Born about 1884 at Kos, where he still owns property. Before the war was an official of the Ministry of Justice, and in 1914, as a civil inspector, accompanied the Embassies' delegates who enquired into the Greek deportations at Smyrna. Was then of advanced ideas and a protégé of Talat Pasha. Was deported to Malta in the early armistice, and on his liberation identified himself with Mustafa Kemal. Was a member of the Turkish delegation to the first Lausanne Conference. Mayor of Smyrna in 1923, when he was a failure. In July 1923 elected Deputy for Menteshe, which he still represents. In March 1924 charged with deposit of the ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, and went to Paris and Berne. In the same month became president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly. In August 1924 Minister of Agriculture, and in November Minister for Foreign Affairs. Resigned March 1925, but was reappointed president of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, holding this post till the autumn of 1927. During this period he exercised considerable influence over Turkish foreign policy. In November 1927, on the reconstruction of Ismet Pasha's Cabinet, he became Minister of Interior, and was largely responsible for the changes, more particularly in the eastern provinces, where he caused the military régime to be suppressed in December.

Shukri Kaya Bey is a coarse but refreshing personality, and is by no means unintelligent. Not too well liked by other leading Turks, who regard him as [illegible]. A Moderate, he is a disciple of Fethi Bey [illegible] Ismet Pasha [illegible] the right [illegible] reversal of his pro-Russian policy [illegible] Last [illegible] to be [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] drink [illegible] [illegible] also [illegible]

Suad Bey

Born in 1878. Studied law in Paris, and in 1912 became secretary at the Sublime Porte. Was a protégé of Talat Pasha, and quickly became head of the Consular and Commercial Department. During the armistice was Director-General of Administration at the Porte, but resigned on the fall of Ferid Pasha. In 1923 became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs at Angora and in 1924 representative at Rome. Appointed Ambassador there in April 1925.

Suad Bey is a somewhat aggressive and tiresome person to deal with.

Tewfik Bey, Colonel.

Born about 1880. Mother a Bagdadi, father a Turk. Left the military school in 1908, and in view of his marked intelligence proceeded direct to the Staff College, whence he graduated in 1912. In 1914 he was appointed to the staff of the 19th division, where he served under Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Later he served in the Caucasus, and was on the staff of Ismet Pasha in Palestine. Joined the Nationalist movement at the beginning, and was appointed to the General Staff of the Ministry of National Defence, with rank of colonel. Was Turkish military adviser at the Lausanne Conference 1922–23. In June 1924 became secretary to the President of the Republic, and held this post till November 1927, in spite of Ismet Pasha's efforts to appoint him to various missions abroad. He represented Turkey at the Arms Traffic Conference at Geneva in the early summer of 1925. In November 1927 was appointed Ambassador in Moscow, but only remained there till May 1928, when he was at Angora in attendance on the King of Afghanistan, when he accompanied to Tehran. On his return he resumed his duties as private secretary to the President, who refuses to be without him.

Tewfik Bey is tall, fat and pleasant, and is completely identified with Mustafa Kemal. He speaks German, Russian and French. Always affable, his relations with the British delegates at Lausanne were very cordial. He is married, but keeps his womankind in seclusion.

Tewfik Kiamil Bey.

Born about 1880 in Salonica and educated there. A career diplomat, but nothing is known of his early history. He was secretary to the Turkish delegation at the Second Lausanne Conference in 1923, and on his return to Angora became Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. As such he was charged with the negotiations of friendship treaties with several foreign countries and gradually exercised increasing influence. Resigned in October 1925 on his election as Deputy for Constantinople, which he still represents. In 1926 he became a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly, and by his expert knowledge made his influence felt. In 1927 he was responsible for the drafting of a new and very important law on Turkish nationality. Represented Turkey at a Cattle Plague Conference at Adana in November 1927. Is a hard worker and a pillar of strength of the Foreign Ministry, with which he is always in close contact.

Tewfik Kiamil Bey is without doubt very capable. He is, however, shy and reserved, but when better known is pleasant in conversation and readily feels to express his views on questions which interest him.

Tewfik Rushdi Bey

Born about 1885 in Macedonia, of Turkish parents. Doctor in the sanitary service. In 1909 was secretary general of the Committee of Union and Progress Congress then held. Served as a doctor during the Balkan War, and was made prisoner by the Serbs. In 1920 was a member of a mission to Russia, and later, during the Nationalist movement, was the director of an Angora newspaper. Elected Deputy for Smyrna in July 1923, was secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission which considered the Lausanne Treaty. Later in the year was appointed president of the Turkish Commission for the Exchange of Populations, and early incurred criticism because of his alleged failure adequately to protect Turkish interests. Resigned in September 1924 over the "établis" issue, but subsequently withdrew his resignation and resumed negotiations for the conclusion of a Turco-Greek agreement. In March 1925 became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Proceeded to Europe on various missions, particularly in connexion with the Mosul question, and signed the Angora Treaty in June 1926. During the summer of 1926 his position was weakened owing to his relationship (brother-in-law) with the late Dr. Nazim, whose death sentence he endeavoured to have commuted, but this effect was apparently only temporary, and he again seemed fairly established when he met M. Chicherin at Odessa in November. During the following months rumours of his impending resignation were current, but these proved unfounded, and he retained his portfolio when Ismet Pasha reconstructed his Cabinet in November 1927. In March 1928 attended the Preparatory Disarmament Conference at Geneva, and during the year his position seemed to become steadily stronger.

Tewfik Rushdi Bey is dishevelled in appearance. He is so volatile and voluble that he appears inane. Is supposed to have Communist leanings, but probably is an utterly cynical opportunist. Is an incessant talker, whose real influence on Turkish foreign policy is difficult to determine, though his subservience to Ismet Pasha in public lends colour to the theory that he is content for the most part to take his orders from his superiors.

Vasif Bey

Born about 1885. In 1923 became Deputy for Sarubhan and Public Prosecutor of Independence Tribunal sent to Constantinople. In March 1924 became Minister of Public Instruction, resigning in November. June 1925, Minister at Prague, and, November 1927, at Budapest. In November 1928 became Ambassador in Moscow, but in January 1929 was elected Deputy for Smyrna—an indication that he will probably shortly resume the portfolio of Public Instruction.

Vasif Bey is tall and heavy in appearance. Is very loud, and almost certainly a bully. A bad type.

Yunus Nadi Bey

Born 1878. Educated in Rhodes. Became a protégé of Abdin Pasha Dino, who put him in charge of his [illegible] but dismissed him after two years because of abuses. Emerged from obscurity in 1908 and became one of the Committee of Union and Progress members for Smyrna in the Chamber of Deputies. In 1911 became editor of the Committee of Union and Progress "Tasvir-i Efkiar," and in 1916 started the "Yeni Gun." In 1908 received £T 30,000 from secret Committee of Union and Progress funds. Was imprisoned soon after the armistice, but was soon released, and published attacks on the Allies in his newspaper. On occupation of Constantinople in March 1920 he escaped to Angora, having for some time previously been in touch with Mustafa Kemal. Commenced publication of his paper there and became Deputy for Smyrna. In February 1921 was a member of the Angora Peace Delegation to Rome, Paris and London. In the autumn he fell foul of Mustafa Kemal because of his sympathy with Enver Pasha, but in 1922 was received back into the fold and for some time was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission. Throughout this period he wrote many Russophil articles, and was a bitter Anglophobe. Has been Deputy for Mentoshe since 1923. In 1924 started the "Jumhuriet" in Constantinople and soon after the "Yeni Gun" ceased publication. Since 1923 has been president of the Constitution Commission of the Assembly, and, 1926-27, was also a member of the Foreign Affairs Commission. In 1927-28 took the leading part in an enquiry into the peculations of the former Ministers of Marine and Commerce—a curious selection. Spent the summer of 1928 in Russia and Germany, and on his return markedly displayed his Russophil sentiments.

Yunus Nadi Bey is short and stout and wears pince nez. He is intelligent and Turkey's best leader writer, but is ready to turn to any wind, is an excessive drinker and an unscrupulous scoundrel whose general behaviour disgusts even the Turks.

Yusuf Hikmet Bey

Born in Constantinople about 1882. Educated at the Galata Serai Lycée. Entered the Turkish Diplomatic Service and served as a secretary at Paris and Berlin. Returned to the Sublime Porte early in the armistice, but in 1920 went to Angora, where he at once became Political Director at the Foreign Ministry, and accompanied the Nationalist mission to Europe in 1922. In 1924 was counsellor in London, and in January 1925 again became head of the Political Section of the Foreign Ministry. In the summer of 1925 he became Minister at Belgrade, holding the post till November 1927, when he became private secretary to the President of the Republic. In July 1928 was appointed Ambassador at Kabul.

Yusuf Hikmet Bey is short, dark and somewhat insignificant in appearance. He is, however, intelligent. He has agreeable manners, and, in spite of slight deafness, was generally popular in Belgrade, where His Majesty's Minister found him pleasant to deal with. He might, nevertheless, turn out to be something of a mischief-maker.

Yusuf Kemal Bey

Born in 1878 at Sinope. Entered the military school, but transferred in 1901 to the school of law, from which he graduated in 1905. Practised in Constantinople and was for a short time Deputy for Kastamuni, but in 1909 joined the Opposition. In 1910 resigned his seat and spent the following two years in Paris studying law. Throughout the war practised as a barrister in Constantinople. October to December 1919 was Under Secretary for Justice, and on being sent on a mission of reconciliation to Anatolia, was won over to the Nationalist cause and did not return to Constantinople. Became Minister of Economics early in 1920. In 1920-21 proceeded on mission to Moscow and Tiflis and attended the Baku Congress. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs in May 1921, and throughout his tenure of office was in close touch with Moscow. Proceeded to Paris and London as head of the Angora Peace Delegation in March 1922. Resigned in October, nominally on grounds of ill health. In July 1923 was elected Deputy for Sinope, and in the following month was president of the Foreign Affairs Commission, which examined the Lausanne Treaty. In January 1924 became Turkish Ambassador in London, but resigned in May on opting for his deputyship. In November was a rival candidate to Kiazim Pasha for the presidency of the Assembly, but was defeated, and since then has taken no prominent part in political life, being understood to be out of sympathy with the

President of the Republic. From 1927-28 he was, however, rapporteur of the Justice Commission of the Assembly and in 1927 accompanied the Minister of Justice to The Hague in connexion with the Lotus affair. He was re-elected Deputy in September 1928, was a member of the Economic Commission of the Assembly. Yusuf Kemal Bey is a good speaker and nourishes Bolshevik sympathies, but only so far as these do not clash with his ideals of Turkish Nationalism.

Zekiai Salih Bey

Nothing is known of his early history. Was Deputy for Adana in the first Angora Assembly, and in 1921 was a member of Bekir Sami Bey's Peace Delegation to London. In the following year Turkish economic expert at the Lausanne Conference. Elected Deputy for Adana in July 1923. Became Minister for Agriculture in March 1924. In September was appointed Ambassador to London. It was rumoured early in 1925 owing to his having, on his own account, proposed a direct agreement over Mosul, which he was instructed by Angora to withdraw. In May was appointed Ambassador at Moscow and in November 1926 was present at Odessa at the interview between M. Chicherin and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Returned in September 1927 [illegible] (on possibly not of his own volition—as Deputy for Diarbekr. Is now [illegible] of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Assembly.

Zekiai Bey is anti British in sympathy, and when in London alienated Turkish sympathisers by his lack of courtesy towards them. On the whole

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E 1259/92/44 No. 92

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 102.)

Sir, *Angora, March 3, 1929*

I HAVE read with much interest Sir Percy Loraine's despatch to you, No. 46 of the 4th February last, relative to the Turco-Greek negotiations.

2. I hold no brief for either party in this discussion, since I regard them both as hard bargainers who are thoroughly conversant with one another's methods, not over-scrupulous in their efforts to get the better of the deal, but determined to come to terms in the end. Still, agreement is in the interest of both countries and in the general interest as well, and I am constrained to observe that, if M. Lambrakis really believed the statement he made to Mr. Atchley, as reported in Sir Percy Loraine's despatch, and if the policy of his Government bases itself on such assumptions, the chances of agreement are little likely to be furthered.

3. So far as I am aware, the Turks have never given any official indication of an intention to force an exchange of the Greeks of Constantinople against the Moslems of Western Thrace, but the Turkish press has been less reticent at times, and its attitude exactly bears out Sir Percy Loraine's suggestion of a veiled threat of expulsion of the Constantinople Greeks being used as a lever for rendering the Greek Government more tractable in regard to the financial aspects of the dispute, though from such information as I possess, should the exchange ever become a practicable issue, it is more than doubtful whether the Turks would be the gainers.

4. M. Lambrakis states that there are in Constantinople 200,000 Greeks who, if exchanged, would apparently cause "an influx of nearly a quarter of a million town dwellers" into Greece, while there are only about 60,000 Turks in Thrace and the value of the property of the former is very considerable and that of the latter relatively small. The Greek Minister here, on the other hand, as recorded in my despatch No. 10 of the 8th January last, gave the respective figures, based on the Turkish and Greek census made within the last two years, as 70,000 Greeks in Constantinople and 104,000 Moslems in Thrace, and asserted, somewhat to the surprise at the time of Mr. Helm, who asked the Minister to repeat his statement, that the Moslems in Thrace were wealthier than the Greeks remaining in Constantinople to-day.

5. I am not in a position to estimate the reasons actuating M. Lambrakis, but I see no reason why M. Pappa should give incorrect figures to His Majesty's Embassy. The secret, in any case, doubtless be checked from official returns, which on the Turkish [illegible] 1927 there were within the bounds of the

Prefecture of Constantinople 69,230 inhabitants of Turkish nationality who professed the Greek Orthodox religion. It would be interesting to know the grounds on which M. Tambrakis estimates this same population at 200,000 or nearly a quarter of a million.

6. Moreover, the statement of M. [illegible] that M. Venizelos is anxious to avoid a too speedy settlement with Turkey, lest the success of the negotiations in progress, and suggests that the Turkish policy is not the only one whose motives and application are often enveloped in obscurity. On the Turkish side there is not, as I have noted on more than one occasion, absolute unanimity even in the highest circles on the policy to be adopted towards Greece. On the other hand, there is the party of conciliation with Tewfik Rushdi Bey, on the one hand, on the other the group led by the Minister of Finance and the present chief Turkish delegate on the Exchange Commission, [illegible] the risk of a further embitterment of relations [illegible] the utmost farthing from Greece. A series of ill judged publications in the Athenian press on the occasion of the recent catastrophe, which by destroying "this Hellenic rosary in the heart of Constantinople" had caused the "disappearance of one of the few remaining links with the past," has already much weakened the position of the former group. The fulfilment by M. Venizelos of the intention attributed to him to avoid an early settlement is likely to establish further the ascendancy of the Sarajoglu Shukri Bey and Hasan group, and reduce still more the chances of any early improvement in Greco-Turkish relations.

7. The attitude of the Greek Government being as described by Sir [illegible] it is not surprising that yesterday both the Greek Minister, who [illegible] emphasised the sincere anxiety of his Government to reach an early [illegible] and the chief Greek delegate on the Exchange Commission had lost all their [illegible] regarding the issue of the negotiations. The latter were at a [illegible] they said, one sole ray of hope. Hitherto the Turkish [illegible] put to paper its proposals for a complete settlement. The Minister for Foreign Affairs was now preparing a complete draft. The Greek delegates knew in advance that it would be quite unacceptable, but the draft would in due course call forth a Greek counter draft, and the [illegible] thought that as a result the air might be cleared.

8. I should add that Tewfik Rushdi Bey remains optimistic. What I think happened was that in the autumn the Minister for Foreign Affairs felt that the whole question could be settled if the Greeks made over the famous £500,000, and gave the Greeks to understand. While the inevitable haggling to reduce the £500,000 was going on Sarajoglu Shukri suddenly stepped in and, speaking with double authority as Minister of Finance and former Turkish representative on the Mixed Commission, said that £500,000 was not nearly enough. Tewfik Rushdi Bey had, therefore, more or less to eat his words and to find plausible reasons for further delay in reaching an agreement. The real fight now is between Tewfik Rushdi Bey and the Finance Minister, and, as the question has become one of prestige to [illegible] he will certainly do all that in him lies to reach agreement with the Greek Government.

9. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 1261/92/44] No.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 107.)

Sir,

Angora, March 2, 1929.

I PAID my customary farewell visit yesterday to the Minister for Foreign Affairs before proceeding on leave of absence.

2. I found his Excellency [illegible] the best [illegible] of His Majesty's Government to seek the [illegible] of Nations to an alternative to the Irak [illegible]

I think that the chief reason for his Excellency's [illegible] satisfaction that had been given to him by the invitation addressed [illegible] Government to adhere to the Moscow Protocol [illegible]

I enclose copies (which I have received privately from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs) of the Soviet Ambassador's note inviting Turkey to accede to the protocol, and of the note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs accepting the Soviet invitation. Tewfik Rushdi Bey said that, when M. Litvinov had first mooted his proposal, Turkey had deliberately stood aside in her position as the [illegible] was obviously a delicate one, but he confessed that when he saw the reference to "Europe orientale" in the speeches exchanged at the signing of the protocol, his mouth watered to be associated with the signatories, and he was correspondingly delighted when the Soviet Government, with its usual friendly tact where "Turkey was concerned," noted that country to adhere. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that [illegible] had cleared all the more remarks, which [illegible] was merely a business matter, which was nothing and involved no fresh commitment.

4. His Excellency [illegible] me, if occasion offered, to speak unofficially to the Council of Foreign Bondholders and to assure that body that the Turkish Government had no *arrière pensée* in the second reservation attached to the ratification of the Ottoman Public Debt (see [illegible] despatch No. 93 of the 4th February last). I think he [illegible] tried to explain the reservation of his Government, but I fear that I completely lost [illegible] as I was still awaiting the instructions [illegible] letter to my Chancery of the same date, I did not pursue the subject.

5. Tewfik Rushdi further hoped that I would support him when, as he proposed [illegible] he should, in the interests of mutual economy, suggest the abolition of the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. I confined myself to a general support of the principle of economy wherever possible, for I believe that there are a good number of cases pending in which the British agent expects to get a favourable decision from the tribunal, and that these cases must be disposed of before the tribunal is suppressed.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure 1 in No. 33

M. Souritz to Tewfik Rushdi Bey.

Monsieur le Ministre,

Angora, le 26 février 1929.

PAR [illegible], j'ai l'honneur de faire parvenir ci-près le texte du protocole signé à Moscou le 9 février 1929 par l'U.R.S.S., Lettonie, Pologne, Roumanie et Esthonie et relatif à la mise en vigueur du pacte de Paris du 27 août 1928 de renonciation à la guerre en tant qu'instrument de la politique nationale. Ledit protocole est ratifié par le Comité central exécutif de l'U.R.S.S. le 13 février 1929. Je suis chargé par mon Gouvernement d'ajouter à ce qui précède que prenant en considération la situation géographique de la Turquie, grâce à laquelle sa politique pacifique représente un facteur particulièrement précieux de la paix en orient de l'Europe, et en même temps tenant compte de l'aspiration permanente de l'U.R.S.S. et de la Turquie à la collaboration amicale dans l'œuvre de la paix générale, mon Gouvernement acclamerait ardemment l'adhésion de la Turquie au protocole susmentionné en conformité de son article 5.

Veuillez, &c.
J. SOURITZ.

Enclosure 2 in No. 33

Tewfik Rushdi Bey to M. Souritz.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur,

Angora, le 27 février 1929.

J'AI l'honneur de vous accuser réception de la note en date d'hier, par laquelle vous voulez bien me transmettre en même temps que le texte du protocole signé à Moscou le 9 février 1929 par l'U.R.S.S., la Lettonie, la Pologne, la Roumanie et la Turquie [illegible] la mise en vigueur entre ces États du pacte de Paris du 27 août 1928 [illegible] la guerre comme instrument de politique nationale, la proposition du Gouvernement de l'U.R.S.S. au Gouvernement de la République turque de se joindre au susdit protocole.

Le Gouvernement de la République turque mis en avant dès le début par le [illegible] et courtoise du Gouvernement [illegible] Unions. L'initiative de M. Litvinof tendant à la stabilisation de la paix [illegible] avait considéré très favorablement ce nouveau pas en avant, y ayant applaudi et n'ayant pu manque de faire entendre aux négociateurs du protocole son opinion favorable à ce sujet.

Cette initiative répondant en tous points [illegible] sincèrement poursuivie par la Turquie, je [illegible] Gouvernement de la République [illegible] maintien de la paix [illegible] Moscou.

[illegible]

E 1264/90/44 No. 35.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 11.)

(No. 114.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 7, 1929.*

ON the 4th instant the law for the consolidation of tranquillity expired and on that occasion Ismet Pasha, in a speech of which I have the honour to enclose a cuttings, announced that under the Ghazi's inspiration the Government had decided not to prolong this exceptional measure. It will be recalled (see my despatch No. 97 of the 2nd March, 1927) that the law gave the Government the power to deal without any reference to the Assembly, with any kind of reactionary movement and to hand the culprits over to the Independence Tribunals. It may be assumed that the Government, having since then eliminated all opposition from the Assembly and having more recently abolished the Independence Tribunals, feels that this special law adds little in reality to the ample powers [illegible] and for any measures it may want to take against subversive movements. The Prime Minister of course laid emphasis on this indication of internal security and [illegible] Kurdish rebellion of 1925, the immediate reason for the passing of the law, and in so doing he did not omit to ascribe to Allied machinations and to the Allied occupation a very generous share of responsibility for the paralysis of Turkish national life, which, he claimed, made such [illegible] rebellion possible. The law, he recalled, had been [illegible] but as a matter of fact the Government had made no use of it [illegible] then so much had the situation improved.

2. The Pasha continued by saying that, in his view, the greatest achievements of the past four years had been that the great [illegible] reforms had been firmly planted in the life of the people, and he then [illegible] amid applause, the emancipation of women, the divorce of religion and politics and the reform of the alphabet.

3. Ismet Pasha proceeded to deny tendentious rumours of which there are always plenty—about the Ghazi's health. Mustafa Kemal Pasha was as robust as ever, he asserted, and so far as I am aware this [illegible] the truth. Another rumour which the Prime Minister took occasion to deny with equal firmness was that there were differences between the Ghazi and Government. He was doubtless alluding to differences which have [illegible] despatches between the Ghazi and himself about the transfer of Vassaf Bey's [illegible] Embassy at Moscow to the Ministry of Education.

4. This led Ismet Pasha on to [illegible] which propaganda was concluded against the Government [illegible] would report to exiles and emigrants resident in Syria [illegible] being closed down, which is true enough; that crucifixes and ikons were being set up in those that remained—the enclosed translation omits this; that taxes were intolerable and that public debts were not honoured, which allegations are also not without elements of truth in them. The Turkish Government is considerably exercised by reactionary activities of Turks in Syria and I presume that by this tirade Ismet Pasha hoped to encour[illegible] them.

5. After referring to Communism as another kind of propaganda which was being carried on, but was being successfully controlled by the police and courts, Ismet Pasha concluded by a disarming appeal to all who were discontented with the present regime to submit their case to the electorate.

I have, &c.,
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 1426/90/44 No. 35.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 18.)

(No. 122.)

Sir, *Constantinople, March 13, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Consul-General at Smyrna concerning the recent arrest of suspected communists in that town.

2. Mr. Morgan ascribes little importance to the affair, he is inclined to attribute the notoriety it obtained chiefly to mismanagement on the part of the local [illegible] Should this surmise be true, the incident would afford yet another example of the determined resistance offered by the iron government and extreme nationalism of the Turkish Republic to any form of foreign propaganda within its [illegible] sion made in the leading article of a Smyrna newspaper to the [illegible] of Russian communism and the impossibility or undesirability of its extension to Anatolia might suggest a misunderstanding of the Soviet neutrality or a lack of interest in the Soviet system, but communism is a subject on which the press does not speak its real mind very freely.

3. An industrialised and modernised Turkey, and particularly the growth of the work [illegible] activities in Constantinople, Smyrna and Adana may offer in the fut[illegible] Soviet activities; until then the republic would [illegible] communist propaganda among its citizens.

I have, &c.,
W. S. EDMONDS.

Enclosure in No. 35.

Consul-General Morgan to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 18.)

Sir, *Smyrna, March 7, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. [illegible] of the 8th January regarding the possible [illegible] communist [illegible] I have the honour to report that on the 28th [illegible] carpenter, named [illegible] were found placarding the walls of the European quarter of the town with Communist posters and were arrested. The subsequent police enquiry brought to light the further fact that these two persons had been distributing to scholars envelopes marked "Bayram presents" containing Communist propaganda.

2. The arrest of some twenty Communists followed. Among them were several foreigners, who have since been provisionally released. The press states that they were not arrested, but were merely taken to the public prosecutor for interrogation. It is generally said that the arrest of these twenty people was due to the initiative of the Valis; that the Public Prosecutor was opposed to the step and that although the Vali believes that the Bolshevik plot and has informed Ankara accordingly he feared that the arrest of foreign residents would be [illegible].

3. One of the reasons for the Vali's action was the departure on the 27th January from Smyrna of one Meyer, a Russian attached to the agency of the Soviet Fleet (Soviet Commercial Fleet), who was suspected of trying to spread Bolshevik [illegible] Meyer's discovery of the communistic bill stickers, and fearing perhaps that the [illegible] might be followed by that of Meyer's presumed accomplices, the Vali arrested the [illegible]. Among those arrested were exporters of goods who had had business dealings with the Soviet Government.

4. I have it indirectly from one of the recipients of a "Bayram present" that his present consisted of a diatribe printed both in the old and in the new characters.

against the terms of settlement of the Ottoman Public Debt, and especially the placing of the Constantinople Customs under foreign control; also of a protest against the imminent arrival in various Anatolian ports of 250,000 Italian workmen and, finally, of an outburst against the new alphabet.

5. The extent of the communism of Hilmi and Tevfik may be gauged from the above, and it is permissible to wonder how it has come about that the settlement of the Ottoman Public Debt question has impelled them to invite the world to share in an indignation which cannot have solely the bondholders for its object.

6. Even the "Hizmet," in a leading article on the 4th March, finds it difficult to understand what Hilmi or Tevfik and a handful of partisans can hope to achieve [illegible]. It explains that communism owes its birth to the land problem in Russia. In Turkey there is no land problem, as every peasant has a little land, and furthermore, the industrial development of the nation is not yet such that there should exist a question of strife between employers and employees.

7. One of the aspects of the anti-Communist action of the authorities is the light which it throws on the nature of Turco-Soviet relations. It is fear of their powerful neighbour which prompts the Turkish authorities to keep a close eye on Communist activities, and not any real conviction that communism has [illegible] spreading in Turkey.

8. A further [illegible] feelings towards the Soviet [illegible] showing a film of which the scene was laid in Russia and which was likely to excite sympathy for the supporters of the old régime and disgust at their treatment by the present Government. It was announced in the press that the Valiyi [illegible] police attended a presentation of the film and decided that it would be shown.

I have, &c.

JAMES MORGAN.

[E 1503/1503/44] No. [illegible]

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received March 21.)

(No. 124.)

Sir,

Constantinople, March 13, 1929.

THE Serb-Croat-Slovene Minister, who has recently returned to Turkey after an absence of some months, was good enough to give Mr. Roberts an exposition of the issues outstanding between the two countries, and of the position which his negotiations have now reached. This explanation throws considerable light on a somewhat complicated state of affairs.

After the last Balkan war the Serbian Government sequestrated Turkish properties in Macedonia. The Treaty of Constantinople, which was signed after that war, contained a clause whereby Serbia undertook to give just compensation for expropriated property, but it was never put into execution. Yugoslavia did not accept the Treaty of Lausanne, and the only instrument which entered into force was a simple declaration that the state of war between Turkey and Yugoslavia was at an end. The properties fall into two sharply distinguished categories: on the one hand, urban and small rural properties, which are absolute freeholds, and, on the other, the large landed estates held under feudal tenure. There is no dispute about the obligation to raise the sequestration on the former category, and to eject any persons who may wrongfully have entered into possession, but the second category raises far-reaching issues. The large landed estates in Macedonia have been distributed among the peasants who cultivate them, although the final conditions of this measure of agrarian reform have not yet been determined by a law. The Vilayet Constitution distinguishes in two separate articles between the expropriation of property for which compensation is stipulated, and the distribution of land by way of agrarian reform, where no such stipulation occurs. In view of the bitter memories of the Turkish régime in Macedonia any proposal to compensate the old feudal landlords must be extremely unpopular, and, as there could obviously at this date be no question of [illegible] the peasants [illegible] would be found in the [illegible] In any case, compensation could not be given until conditions had been regularised by an agrarian reform law for Macedonia, which was now being worked out in Belgrade.

9. While the Turkish Government were interested in getting the sequestration on all these properties raised, the aim of the Yugoslav Government was to secure a

commercial agreement, thereby putting an end to the present state of affairs under which the produce of each country pays the maximum rates on entry into the other. The balance of trade is, it appears, in favour of Yugoslavia; her principal articles of export to Turkey are cement, timber and live-stock, the latter being of a superior quality to that reared in Turkey. The Turkish Government had insisted on linking the two questions, and, in order to give satisfaction to Angora, M. Marinkovitch had, as soon as he entered Belgrade, secured the passage of a law or decree raising the sequestration on properties of the first category on the understanding that Turkey would give reciprocity. Thus the Yugoslav Government appears to have interpreted [illegible] involving the settlement of the claims of its nationals (about 200 in number) on account of requisitions, loss of property in the Smyrna fire and the like, and also the grant of the desired commercial agreement. It was therefore considerably disappointed when Tevfik Rushdi Bey declared that he meant nothing more nor less than strict reciprocity in the raising of the sequestration on Yugoslav properties in Turkey. As there are no such properties under sequestration, the value of the concession of reciprocity was precisely nil, and the Yugoslav Government felt that they had been the victims of sharp practice.

10. M. Marinkovitch [illegible] raising the sequestration on properties of the first category was proceeding [illegible] present time some 4,000 out of 10,000 or 12,000 properties have been liberated. The Turkish Government, however, continued [illegible] M. Tadich felt that it would be impossible for him to put through a commercial agreement in face of the powerful opposition of those who were directly interested in compensation for the feudal lands, and who, M. Tadich believes, include no less a person than Ismet Pasha himself. If, however, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government would make a declaration of their intention in principle to give fair compensation, Tevfik Rushdi Bey would, so he declared, at the same time [illegible] commercial agreement. M. Tadich therefore left for Belgrade to endeavour to secure such a declaration; on his arrival there Tevfik Rushdi Bey's promise was repeated to him by the Turkish Chargé d'Affaires.

11. The declaration was one which, for the reasons explained in the last paragraph 2, no Minister would, under the parliamentary régime, have dared to make. It was generally felt that the utmost that could be given was an undertaking, similar to that given by Czechoslovakia and Roumania to Hungary, that Turkish landowners would not be treated less favourably than Yugoslav landowners. Mr. Roberts gathered, however, that an undertaking of this kind would have been considered as restricted in its scope to Macedonia, where the dispossessed landowners are almost all of Turkish nationality, and where therefore the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government had not contemplated giving any compensation whatsoever. However, under the present dictatorship M. Tadich had been successful in obtaining authorisation to give the desired assurance of just compensation, and had now returned with this in his pocket. He had been heartily congratulated on his success by Haidar Bey, the new Turkish Minister in Belgrade, who before his departure had organised a dinner to celebrate the happy removal of the obstacle to a settlement. On his return to Angora, however, M. Tadich found to his consternation that Tevfik Rushdi Bey had gone back on his word, and now refused to negotiate the commercial agreement. It was in vain that M. Tadich pointed out that the agreement could take a provisional form, and that if the Turkish Government had reason at any time to think that the Yugoslavs were not honourably interpreting their undertaking, it would always be open to it not to renew it. Tevfik Rushdi Bey had promised to see him again in a week's time, but ten days had since elapsed, and M. Tadich regarded the outlook extremely pessimistically. If the Turkish Government were going to play fast and loose in a manner so unfortunately reminiscent of the methods of the Sublime Porte, Belgrade would have no alternative but to suspend the process of raising the sequestration on properties of the first category until such time as the Turks should be in a more reasonable frame of mind.

12. If one may express an opinion on this dispute from here, it is that, however [illegible] the pettifogging methods of the Turkish Government may be, and however legitimate the sentimental feeling against the Turkish landowners, it seems essential to the prospects of a satisfactory settlement with [illegible] Serb-Croat-Slovene Government should offer to [illegible] compensation.

13. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Belgrade.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

E 1756/222/44 No. 37

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 8.)

(No. 11.)

Angora, April 2, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch from the military attaché of this mission regarding rumours, which became rife about the 20th ultimo, of a mobilisation or a partial mobilisation. Major Heywood has, I think, sized these rumours up pretty accurately. Whatever they were due to clumsiness or to design on the part of the authorities, the Turkish Government probably hopes that the effect on its negotiations with Greece will be all to the good.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

Enclosure in No. 37

Major Heywood to Mr. Edmonds.

Angora, March 29, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that rumours have been current in Constantinople, Angora and Smyrna [illegible] the press attributing great importance to the Greek press and to speculators. On the morning of the 20th March an emergency meeting of the Supreme War Council was held at Angora. Notice of the meeting appeared in the press, and as the council, according to the Turkish law, should meet annually in December only, the rumours were not [illegible].

2. On the evening of the 20th March, at a reception given by the Egyptian Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs was surrounded by a group of diplomats of various nationalities and was asked point-blank, in the presence of the Greek Minister, whether there was any truth in the rumours. Dr. Tewfik Rushdi, somewhat alarmed, [illegible] that the [illegible] was the [illegible] terms with the Greek Minister to demonstrate the peaceful intentions of Turkey. This demonstration was not convincing, however, and subsequently, being then [illegible] the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Ministers and by the Italian and Japanese secretaries, who all felt that the rumours must have some foundation. I replied that I did not believe that anything had happened beyond, at most, the calling up of recruits earlier than usual or a revision of the mobilisation registers.

3. On the following day I mentioned the rumours to Lieutenant-Colonel Sadik Bey, chief of the Intelligence Section of the Turkish General Staff. Sadik Bey categorically denied that any mobilisation had taken place and added that he was at a loss to understand how people could spread such malicious rumours. He said that it was not even time to call up the recruits, some are called up annually in April, that it was obvious that even a partial mobilisation could not be carried out in secret, and that an official denial would be published. Sadik Bey showed some excitement that the [illegible] warning of the version were correct and suspect enquiries have shown that [illegible] occurred.

4. It is reported that numerous cipher messages have been despatched by the headquarters of the IIIrd Army Corps. A Turkish officer is stated to have said that certain classes had been ordered to report to the recruiting offices, and a highly-placed official has stated [illegible] that the [illegible] has been revised. Lastly, an employer of labour in Angora has [illegible] all his officers to report.

5. On the 28th March a notice appeared in the Constantinople press instructing the contingents of classes No. [illegible] and 3.2 to report to the recruiting offices, where they were to be sent to their destination. [illegible] the Greek Minister made telephone enquiries from me about the location of the IIIrd Army Corps, the manœuvres which had taken place last [illegible] and the [illegible] strength of the IIIrd Army Corps [illegible] various, obviously [illegible] which had reached him and asked my opinion. I replied that there was nothing of any importance in the rumours and suggested that they [illegible] the Western [illegible] Greek Minister in mediately [illegible] rumours. I hoped that probably the two sets of rumours we[illegible]

6. I then asked for another interview with Sadik Bey, and pointed out the discrepancy between his statement to me and that made by another Minister. He fenced for some time, criticised the Ministry concerned for meddling, and finally admitted that the recruiting offices might have been carrying out their normal routine work of keeping the registers up to date.

7. Having made this admission, he enlarged somewhat, and added that "there had not been even a partial mobilisation," that grand manœuvres might be held in the autumn and that it was normal on such occasions to test the mobilisation schemes, but that it was too early to do this. He asked what object there could possibly be in such a gesture as a mobilisation at the present time. Turkey had no enemies and her differences with Greece were not of vital interest to either country. The rumours were absolute nonsense.

8. It now appears that the General Staff intended to hold manœuvres in Thrace in May on a somewhat larger scale than last year. For the purpose of holding these manœuvres, as is usual in such cases, additional men and officers were to be called up, the necessary transport services were to be requisitioned and, as a test of the mobilisation scheme, a reserve division was to be formed in Thrace. The necessary orders were issued, when, owing to the political pressure resulting from the rumours which got [illegible] the General Staff received [illegible] to cancel its arrangements. The manœuvres have accordingly been postponed and will not take place until the autumn.

9. The notice calling up the contingents of classes No. [illegible] and [illegible], apparently, only at what are known as "retardataires" and, under the new law, the second half of that portion of class No. 3.2 which is due to serve for a period of eighteen months.

10. The situation therefore appears quite clear. The General Staff, intending to carry out its normal work of holding manœuvres and testing the mobilisation scheme, erred in not considering the political situation. The political effect of the rumours which were spread as a result of the preliminary steps taken by the General Staff compelled the Turkish Government for the cancellation of the manœuvres and the General Staff had [illegible] orders which it had already issued to check the mobilisation registers.

11. The meeting of the Supreme War Council was [illegible] and was [illegible] with a view to the discussion of the forthcoming manœuvres and was not called to explain their postponement and to discuss the arrangements which were [illegible].

12. In view of the violent denials of the General Staff and of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, it is [illegible] that the affair will have any sequel, other than the unfortunate effect which it may have on the Turkish delegation to the Disarmament Conference at Geneva.

I have, &c.

J. F. HEYWOOD, *Major, R. A.*

[E 1887/92/44] No. 38.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 16.)

(No. 146.)

Athens, April 4, 1929.

Sir,

WITH reference to Sir George Clerk's despatch No. 102 of the 3rd March, copy of which his Excellency was good enough to forward to me, on the subject of Turco-Greek negotiations, I have the honour to inform you that the [illegible] "Messager d'Athènes" of yesterday reports that a special conference has been held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for the purpose of studying the latest Turkish proposals. It is stated that the Ministers [illegible] the Mixed Commission and of a supplementary [illegible] which was subsequently handed by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Greek Minister at Angora. A description of the Turkish proposals, extracted from the Messager d'Athènes, is enclosed herewith.

2. It is stated that no decision was reached at the result of this conference, and that the proposals will be referred to the competent services, after which a further conference will be held under the presidency of M. Venizelos. It is hoped that the Greek Government will have defined their views by the end of the present week.

3. It would appear that Sir George Clerk's reading of the situation, as set forth in paragraph 7 of his Excellency's despatch under reference, is fully justified and that there is no serious intention on either side to consider the present proposals as a potential basis for ultimate agreement. The semi-official press organ makes no secret of the dissatisfaction with which it regards the Turkish drafts, and after stating that the proposals put forward through the Greek delegate on the Mixed Commission, themselves disadvantageous to Greece, were followed and fundamentally modified in a sense more unfavourable to this country by Tewfik Rushdi Bey's communication to the Greek Minister, adds that these latter were in turn followed a day later by further propositions on the part of the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs which were even unfavourable still. In these circumstances the Turkish proposals would appear to be calculated and perhaps intended, as foreshadowed by His Majesty's Ambassador rather to provoke a Greek counter-draft than to offer a basis for actual agreement and no good purpose would be served by taking this new stage in Turco-Greek negotiations more seriously than do the participants themselves by offering any analytical comment on their successive manœuvres as long as the latter are confined to sparring for position, and continue to afford no criterion of the terms which either would be disposed to accept.

4. In his speech in the Chamber on the 1st instant on the conclusion of the Greco-Serbian pact, apparently before the "supplementary" proposals mentioned above had been received in Athens, M. Venizelos referred to foreign affairs in general and to Turco-Greek relations in particular. His Excellency reproved the press of both countries for attributing the delay in reaching an agreement to the lack of goodwill on the part of the Government of the other, and added the following hopeful if guarded words :—

> "Fortunately, the Turkish Government has just submitted to us a new proposal for the definitive settlement of these complex economic questions. We shall examine these proposals with the attention they deserve and with the lively desire to reach a satisfactory solution which will permit the conclusion of a Greco-Turkish pact of friendship. This pact, setting aside the sole analogous pact between the two states, will permit [illegible] to devote themselves to the work of internal reconstruction which is an equal interest for both."

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
PERCY LORAINE

Enclosure in No. 38.

Extract from the "Messager d'Athènes" of April 3, 1929.

LES NOUVELLES PROPOSITIONS "COMPLÉMENTAIRES" TURQUES.

UNE conférence de deux heures a été tenue hier matin à 10 heures au Ministère des Affaires étrangères, sous la présidence de M. Vénisélos, pour l'étude des dernières propositions turques. A la conférence ont pris part le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, le Directeur général du Ministère M. Tsamados, le Directeur des Affaires politiques M. J. Politis, le premier délégué hellène à la Commission mixte de l'Échange M. Diamantopoulos et le Directeur du Service d'Application des Accords gréco-turcs M. Papadopoulos.

Le Président du Conseil a pris connaissance des détails des propositions turques communiquées à M. Diamantopoulos par le premier délégué de la Turquie à la Commission mixte, Djemal Husni Bey, et des modifications apportées à ces propositions par une nouvelle communication de Tewfik Rushdi Bey à M. Papas.

[illegible] sur ces propositions, mais aucune décision n'a été prise. Les propositions turques seront soumises à l'étude des services compétents, qui feront connaître leur avis au plus tôt, de manière que des décisions finales puissent être prises dans une nouvelle conférence qui sera tenue sous la présidence de M. Vénisélos.

De toute façon le Gouvernement hellénique aura précisé ses vues avant la fin de la semaine.

Pour ce qui est des propositions turques, on apprend ce qui suit :

Les propositions primitives en avaient été faites à M. Diamantopoulos par son collègue turc prévoyant la liquidation générale de toutes les questions pendantes ayant résulté de l'échange. Cette liquidation devait comprendre :

(a.) *En Grèce.*

1. Tous les biens immeubles abandonnés par les musulmans et les Grecs, ainsi que les meubles, créances, marchandises, dépôts, &c., appartenant aux personnes de cette nationalité. Les réclamations entre particuliers [illegible] musulmans et immeubles grecs seront réglées par le droit commun.

2. Tous les biens, meubles et immeubles, appartenant à des sujets turcs en vertu [illegible] de la Convention IX de Lausanne, situés hors de la zone de Constantinople et qui ne sont pas propriété du Gouvernement hellénique. Seront toutefois exceptés de la [illegible] les immeubles qui ont été restitués à leurs propriétaires et qui se trouvent [illegible] en leur possession.

3. Tous les biens immeubles situés en Thrace occidentale et appartenant à des ressortissants grecs [illegible] absents musulmans passent en pleine propriété au Gouvernement hellénique, à l'exception de ceux qui se trouvent en la possession [illegible] de leurs propriétaires.

4. Les biens appartenant à des musulmans établis présents en Thrace occidentale et [illegible] Thrace [illegible]

(b.) *En Turquie.*

1. Tous les biens immeubles abandonnés par les Grecs [illegible] et les biens [illegible]

2. Tous les biens [illegible] Constantinople [illegible]

3. [illegible] aux Grecs [illegible] la Déclaration IX de Lausanne.

4. Tous les biens meubles et immeubles appartenant à des établis absents grecs, [illegible] Turquie.

5. Tous les biens meubles et immeubles appartenant à des établis grecs présents à Constantinople, et sis hors de la zone de Constantinople.

Les biens ci-dessus énumérés passent en pleine propriété au Gouvernement turc.

(c.) *Sont exceptés* de la liquidation générale :

1. Les biens des musulmans établis présents en Thrace occidentale, sis en Thrace occidentale ;

2. Les biens des Grecs établis présents à Constantinople, sis dans la zone de Constantinople ;

3. Les biens des sujets helléniques sis dans la zone de Constantinople.

Les deux Gouvernements renoncent réciproquement à toutes réclamations du chef de revenus dus pour l'occupation des biens appartenant à l'une des catégories ci-dessus énoncées.

Les personnes reconnues comme établies à Constantinople ou en Thrace occidentale jouiront pleinement de leurs droits de propriété. Toutes réclamations pour restitution ou dommages-intérêts du chef d'occupation, saisies, &c., pour leurs biens situés dans les zones exceptées de l'échange, seront tranchées par la Commission mixte.

Les Propositions "complémentaires."

Deux jours après la remise de ces propositions par Djemal Husni Bey à M. Diamantopoulos, le Ministre turc des Affaires étrangères Tewfik Rushdi Bey communiquait au Ministre de Grèce à Angora M. Papas des propositions "complémentaires" modifiant essentiellement les propositions primitives. Ainsi, actuellement, la Turquie demande :

(a.) Que les biens de sujets helléniques sis à Constantinople, et [illegible] Thrace occidentale et appartenant à des ressortissants [illegible] au nombre de dix) soient exceptés de la liquidation générale.

(b.) Que les biens situés dans la zone échargeal le et appartenant à des [illegible] ci-dessus présents à Constantinople soient rachetés par le Gouvernement turc ;

(c.) Que la restitution des biens occupés s'effectue après la [illegible] ratification.

Mais que ces propositions ultérieures de Tewfik Rushdi Bey ajoutaient de [illegible] aux propositions primitives, les rendant plus désavantageuses, le lendemain M. Papas transmettait encore de nouvelles propositions [illegible] du Ministère turc, plus défavorables que les précédentes, puisqu'elles [illegible] accepter [illegible] mesures urgentes [illegible] séparément.

E 1883/92/44 No. 1

[illegible] Chamberlain [illegible] April 16

(No. 1.)

Sir,

Angora, April 6, 1926.

WITH reference to the despatch, No. 102, which His Majesty's Ambassador addressed to you on the 3rd ultimo, I have the honour to report that the Franco-Greek negotiations are still dragging on. But they are, perhaps, now on rather more hopeful lines. Hitherto the trouble has been not so much the [illegible] question as that of compensation for property sequestered. And this is an almost insoluble problem because, in spite of the years during which the Mixed Exchange Commission has been at work, there are not, and there never can be, any reliable data on which to base a valuation. The Greek Minister admits, for example, that, in order to arrive at the total value of the Greek properties, the Greek delegates adopted the estimates of the Mixed Exchange Commission (which were reached by the simple expedient of cutting all claims down by 75 per cent.) and "adjusted" them where they thought fit. And M. Pappas is, perhaps, not very far wrong when he declares that the Turkish delegates in estimating the Turkish properties merely quoted the values stated by the Turkish owners.

2. It is obvious that negotiations for the payment of compensation cannot be conducted with any prospect of success upon a fanciful basis such as this. This truth seems gradually to have come home to both Governments, and, further, the Greek Government appears to have realised that if a balance could be struck it would turn out after all to be the creditor, and not the debtor, of the Turkish Government. The latter some time ago proposed, so M. Pappas says, that the Greek Government should wash out the claims of non-exchangeable Greeks (see declaration attached to Lausanne Treaty—IX) and of Greeks who left Constantinople without permission in 1922, that the Turkish Government should similarly wash out the claims of non-exchangeable Moslems, and that the balance should be settled by a cash payment. The Turkish Government seems to have had £300,000 in mind. To this the Greek Government replied that it was impossible to leave undecided what should be done [illegible] Mixed Exchange Commission, and some other central party must be given power in advance to settle disputes. Then Tewfik Rushdi Bey seems to have shifted his ground in characteristic fashion and to have tried to make out that the cash payment under discussion was not intended to cover the important [illegible] of urban properties in Thrace for which Greece would have to pay separately.

3. From this the negotiations have recently passed to a stage where both parties contemplate washing out all claims and settling all property questions comprehensively [illegible]. But the Turkish Government cannot quite bring itself to give up all idea of the £300,000, and has consequently been busy during the last few weeks sequestering against all eventualities, some seventy Hellenic properties at Constantinople, which are worth in the aggregate about that sum.

4. When, therefore, the Minister for Foreign Affairs told me on the 2nd instant that he hoped to persuade his colleagues in the Cabinet to sacrifice the chance of pecuniary compensation for the sake of good political relations and to cry quits with Greece, he was probably making a mental reservation about the retention of the seventy Hellenic properties or their value. The counsellor of the Italian Embassy,

which has continued to take some part in the negotiations, tells me that for the sake of peace and quiet the Greek Government seems not altogether indisposed to pay the Turks £300,000 or some such sum. If this is what M. Pappas means when he emphasises M. Venizelos's anxiety to come to terms with the Turks because they are "des gens barbares" and intractable, there is some hope of a settlement. But if the two parties reject the rough and ready method and revert to squabbling on the basis of estimates which are purely fantastic, the outlook will be poor. It is some comfort, anyway, to know, on the authority of the Greek Minister, that no more important matter, such as the naval holiday which was previously talked of, is bound up in these protracted and unedifying discussions.

5. Talk in the "Constantinopolis" of Athens (which is, I believe, an insignificant paper) about recovering Thrace, Smyrna and Constantinople gave the Constantinople "République" the pretext for some minatory articles, but more recently it has adopted a milder tone and expressed belief in M. Venizelos's reasonable and pacific intentions. On the eve of their departure to Greece the neutral members of the Mixed Exchange Commission addressed an appeal to the Turkish Government not to wreck all chances of a solution by high handed measures, such as the sequestration of the seventy Hellenic properties, and, in spite of this [illegible] and in spite of the proposed Turkish manœuvres in Thrace (see my despatch No. 141 of the 2nd instant), the atmosphere in which the negotiations are continuing seems not too unfavourable.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Athens.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

E 1884/474/44 No. 40

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain (Received April 16.)

(No. 1.)

Sir,

Angora, April 6, 1926.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a translation[1] of a convention signed at Angora on the 30th August last by representatives of the Soviet and Turkish Governments. This convention, the Turkish text of which has been obtained from the Turkish "Official Gazette," provides for the settlement on the spot of [illegible] The law providing for its ratification was voted by the Turkish Assembly on the 23rd ultimo.

2. Appended to the convention is a protocol dealing with the composition, attributions and meeting-places of the Turkish and Russian authorities mentioned in article 3 of the convention, but this is of such a routine nature that I have not [illegible] it worth while to trouble you with a translation.

3. That the two Governments should have thought it necessary to elaborate such detailed rules of procedure is no doubt largely explicable by the mentality of highly centralised bureaucracies established in primitive countries, which makes no allowance for any sense of responsibility or initiative in their subordinates. Nevertheless, it is permissible to deduce from the conclusion of the agreement that the two Ministries for Foreign Affairs have not been a little harassed by a series of petty [illegible] which have been referred to them for lack of any local channel of [illegible]. It is also perhaps worthy of notice that the convention bears signs [illegible] in articles 2 (e) and 11, of anxiety on the Turkish side to give no opening for the penetration of propaganda agents or matter.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

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[1] Not printed.

[E 2020/92 44] No. 41.

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 22.)

(No. 109.)

Sir, *Athens, April 15, 1929.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 146 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform you that, according to the papers, the negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Governments have begun to show a tendency towards progress.

2. According to the "Messager d'Athènes" of the 13th instant, the Greek Government had instructed M. Papas that they accept in principle the basis of the general liquidation of all outstanding questions, which was proposed by the Turkish Government recently. The Greek Government now propose that representatives of the two Governments should meet at Angora with the neutral members of the Mixed Commission in order to settle the [illegible] which the [illegible] should be made. MM. Papas and Diamandopoulos were named as the Greek representatives, and it was added that they would leave at once for Angora.

3. "Elefitheron Vema" of the 15th, on the other hand, learns from Constantinople that M. Diamandopoulos will leave Constantinople for Angora on the 18th instant, and that he stated that he had very wide instructions and considered the participation of the neutral members of the Mixed Commission in the negotiations to be likely.

I have, &c.

PERCY LORAINE.

[E 2041/90 44] No. 42.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 23.)

(No. 164.)

Sir, *Angora, April 16, 1929.*

IN his despatch No. 50 of the 31st January, His Majesty's Ambassador had the honour to inform you of the appointment as Turkish Ambassador at Moscow of Hasein Ragib Bey in succession to Vasif Bey, who, it was [illegible] would become Minister of Public Instruction. Vasif Bey did in effect take up this portfolio in the last days of February, but has held it during an [illegible] period than he held his post of Ambassador, for the unexpected announcement was made on the 9th instant that he had tendered his resignation and that it had been accepted.

2. For once in a way the conventional grounds of ill health could not be given as the reason for Vasif Bey's resignation. On the contrary, the press was allowed to state at some length that fundamental issues of education policy had given rise to it. The new Minister had, it appears, not unnaturally desired to have concentrated in his own hands all matters affecting national education. He wanted to have the disposal of taxes and funds specifically collected for public instruction, and may even have coveted control of [illegible] schools. The administration of primary schools has, however, hitherto been in the hands of the valis and local officials of the Ministry of the Interior, and Shukri Kaya Bey was loath to surrender this part of his duties, more especially as at the present time the Minister of Public Works is endeavouring to secure for his department complete control of the roads of the country, which also have hitherto been the special care of the valis. As a local newspaper has remarked, the valis would be workless without the primary schools and the roads to occupy their attention. So it happened that the raising of the primary schools issue by Vasif Bey resulted in his falling foul of his colleague of the Interior. The position of the latter has been none too strong lately, but he was secure enough to emerge successfully from this trial of strength with Vasif Bey.

3. So much for what has been allowed to be known. But the truth probably is that the resignation of Vasif Bey is something of a triumph for Ismet Pasha. It is [illegible] over Vasif Bey's nomination. But he evidently had to wait for arguments with which to overcome the Ghazi's predilection for an old favourite. Vasif Bey's clash with Shukri Kaya Bey soon supplied Ismet Pasha with the excuse he wanted. In any case, Vasif Bey's record leaves little reason to suppose that the republic will be seriously injured or the education of the Turkish citizens of to-morrow vitally prejudiced by his disappearance.

4. Vasif Bey's post as the Minister of Public Instruction was last taken by Jemal Husni Bey who for the past year has been one of Turkish delegates on the Mixed Commission for the Exchange of Populations. In this capacity he has proved himself an adroit and strong, and has at times bid fair brusquely to extinguish the feeble flame of hope in the Turco-Greek negotiations. A thruster and by no means well educated, Jemal Husni Bey would appear hardly to possess the qualifications required by a successful Minister of Education in a Western country. Nevertheless, his appointment has been well received, and his character may suit the situation as well as did the rough energy of Nejati Bey, the last Minister but one, who, totally uneducated though he was himself, was a great name as Minister. Whether or not, the prospects for the ultimate success of the Turco-Greek negotiations have been materially improved by the transfer of Jemal Husni Bey to another sphere. The Greek Minister, at any rate, is at no pains to conceal his satisfaction, more especially as it is announced that the new chief Turkish delegate will be Tewfik Kamil Bey, a serious-minded Deputy who, before entering politics, was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

I have, &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

E 2118/92 44 No. 43.

Sir H. Rumbold to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 26.)

(No. 288.)

Sir, *Berlin, April 21, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the President of the Republic yesterday received the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tewfik Rushdi Bey, who was accompanied by the Secretary-General of the Turkish President.

1. [illegible] to the press, Rushdi Bey declared that Turkey [illegible] work of the League of Nations. "We will, however, [illegible] into the League," he added, "until complete equality of [illegible]."

2. As regards the Turkish disarmament proposal at Geneva, Rushdi Bey stated that it was the aim of his Government to bring about a decrease in the standard of armaments without making it necessary for those States which were insufficiently [illegible] effectives. Alluding to Turkey's international position, the Minister stated [illegible] brotherly relations with her neighbours Persia and Afghanistan. [illegible] satisfactory settlement [illegible] with Syria. [illegible] expressed the [illegible] the next few days [illegible] to include the Turco-Greek [illegible] treaty. [illegible] that Ismet Pasha may take [illegible] Persian [illegible] treaty.

3. In reply to an enquiry regarding Trotsky's stay in Constantinople, Rushdi Bey declared that Trotsky was a national of a friendly State and that there were no restrictions in the way of his sojourn in Turkey.

I have, &c.

HORACE RUMBOLD.

E 2168/2168 44] No. 44.

Mr. Edmonds to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received April 30.)

(No. 179.)

Sir, *Angora, April 23, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that in pursuance of his programme of judicial reform the Minister of Justice on the 4th instant submitted to the National Assembly a [illegible] penal procedure to take the place of the present code, which is based on the Code Napoléon. Mahmud Esad Bey explained that the new code was based on the German code of penal procedure, without its provisions for juries and for appeal. He explained that after due consideration the experts had come to the conclusion that the jury system was a mediævalism which might produce incalculable results in Turkey. What he really meant perhaps was that the Turkish citizen of to-day could not be

tr[illegible] with powers which were used fairly satisfactorily [illegible] medieval English juror. As to appeal, the Minister explained that the Government had no reason to regret having abolished that stage of jurisdiction. He was [illegible] consequence of the abolition of appeal which used to offer wonderful scope to the pettifogging lawyer, justice has been administered more quickly and more simply.

2. On the [illegible] the Minister of Justice submitted to the Assembly the final sections of the new commercial code, those on execution of judgments and on bankruptcy. The commercial code which is now being superseded, was, like the other old codes, [illegible] the Code Napoléon and the sections of the new code are based on the Swiss commercial code. With regard to the execution of judgments, Mahmud Esat [illegible] the [illegible] system which had provisionally been put into force for a [illegible] proved itself expeditious and generally satisfactory and had therefore been incorporated in the new code. But the innovation for which the Minister claimed the most credit was the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Yet this provision, [illegible] character said as mediæval and tyrannical was, it must be admitted, [illegible] imprisoned debtors were found to have a propensity for [illegible] off at their creditors' expense.

3. These codes, which had long been before parliamentary commissions, were duly voted, and the Assembly expressed particular gratification at the Turkish phraseology adopted in the new text in contrast with the semi-Arabic jargon of the old codes. How unambiguous the new phraseology will be and how long the judiciary will take to understand it is another matter. More important still is the question when it will be possible to say that the average judge has a real understanding of the principles which he is supposed to apply. It is hard to answer this question, but it can probably be said with some confidence that, since the Angora regime began, the administration of justice has steadily improved. Procedure seems to be much less dilatory, although it is still slow enough, and judgments seem to be on the whole more equitable. The country, of course, has a long way to go before there can be any hope of a judge resisting political pressure or giving a decision against the interests of the Government. But it is certain that judicial reform is being taken seriously. Better training is given to aspiring advocates and judges. More thorough inspection of the judicial machinery is conducted by the Ministry of Justice, and, with the new penal, civil and commercial codes and the new code of civil procedure, which were all promulgated in 1926 and 1927, the complementary codes which have just been voted give Turkish justice a chance which it has never had before. It will be long before perfection is attained, but the Angora regime deserves credit for an amazing amount of constructive judicial reform accomplished in a very few years.

I have &c.

W. S. EDMONDS.

E 2269/1503/44 No. 45

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 6.)

(No. [illegible])

Sir,

Constantinople, April 30, 1929.

WITH reference to Mr. Edmonds's despatch No. 123 of the 13th March last relative to the negotiations between the Turkish Government and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, I have the honour to submit a further report based on information given by M. Tadjitch to Mr. Roberts.

2. It will be recollected that the proposal which Tewfik Rushdi Bey made last autumn and to which M. Tadjitch had secured the consent of his Government was that the latter should make a declaration of their intention in principle to give (within the framework of the forthcoming Agrarian Reform Law) equitable compensation for the large sequestrated Turkish feudal estates in Macedonia, when Turkey would immediately conclude a provisional commercial agreement with Jugoslavia for a duration of six months. In the course of the negotiations which ensued upon the return of M. Tadjitch to Angora, Tewfik Rushdi Bey several times changed his ground. At one time he was in favour of making the Turkish acceptance of the above declaration subject to the reservation of the right to submit the question to arbitration, but ultimately he agreed to be satisfied with an undertaking that the compensation to be granted to the Turkish landowners should not be less favourable than that granted to the subjects of other foreign nations. On the other hand, Dr. Tewfik Rushdi, who at

one moment was not disposed to agree to accept a longer duration for the commercial agreement than three months, subsequently extended this period to one of five months. The only possible explanation was [illegible] Turkish proposal was that Turkey might take advantage of the right to refuse reciprocal treatment to [illegible] specially favoured treatment, which was [illegible] to national treatment, confirmed by the convention of Santa Margherita with Italian landowners [illegible]. He did [illegible] the payment of [illegible] and [illegible] settlement of the basis. This, however, they had refused to accept, and [illegible] agree to the reciprocative Turkish proposal to [illegible] the right [illegible] arbitration, should the terms of compensation [illegible] Agrarian Reform Law prove unacceptable. [illegible] Turkish Government could not be expected to [illegible] Government dependent on the terms of a still inchoate law, which the [illegible] refused to elucidate, as well as refusing to give an [illegible] treatment. At the end of the negotiations Tewfik [illegible] and they were consequently [illegible] Belgrade.

M. Tadjitch, who anticipates that he will be [illegible] future, in [illegible] of the policy of the dictatorial regime to make diplomatic appointments [illegible] considerable extent from outside [illegible], has clearly done his utmost to bring [illegible] which would have constituted a personal success. He [illegible] Government had been [illegible] consequence of [illegible] and [illegible] of the Turks, and observed that they would have [illegible] committed to nothing had they agreed to allow the Turkish Government to make [illegible] reservation.

I [illegible] forwarding a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Belgrade.

I have &c.

G. CLERK.

E 2270/91/44 No. 46

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 191.)

Sir,

Constantinople, April 30, 1929.

TURKEY'S first children's week ended yesterday. Such an event in a Western country would not be worth whole recording, but here the event is far from insignificant, and may indeed be regarded as one more step taken by Turkey on the path of development and progress.

2. On the 23rd April, 1920, the National Assembly met at Angora. This date more so even than the 29th October, 1923, when the republic was proclaimed, is perhaps the most important in the history of modern Turkey. It is from it that the elementary school systems trace their beginning, and henceforth it is to be known in Turkey as the Children's Day. Even if memory is so short that the Turkish newspapers seem to be uncertain whether the 23rd April, 1920, was eight or nine years ago, the intention to devote this and the following days to the youth of the country shows, in spite of all the muddling of the past few years, what anxiety there is to make the new spirit in this country something more than a flash in the pan. The workers of the revolution are still young, and should have many years of usefulness before them, but, even so, their policy has always shown that they realise that the future is not so much with them as with those who are to follow them. A generation will soon be growing up which never knew and possibly never [illegible] the Sultan, who will be untouched by the religious influences and who will only know the new language and characters. But something more was required for which its dictatorial leaders the revolution has sometimes [illegible] the [illegible] of the family life of the Turkish people. For centuries the women and [illegible] Turkey have been left to their own devices. Ignorance and superstition [illegible] the home, illness and disease have been rife, and among those who in this sadly underpopulated country should have been the first objects of care and [illegible] child mortality has been appalling. This was why Mustafa Kemal's efforts to deal summarily with the harem [illegible] first [illegible] check. It was then that he showed that there is something of [illegible] perceiving his [illegible] he for once abandoned his direct methods and set about finding a way round this mountain of difficulty. The encouragement of women to appear in public, the

active health campaign waged by the Minister of Health, the establishment of clinics in every provincial town, the development of education, and now the emphasis thrown on the interests of the children—all these have as their object the future generation.

3. But all this is not the work either of the Ghazi or of his Government, though both have been closely identified with it. More than to anyone else perhaps the credit is due to Hamdullah Subhi Bey, the president almost since its inception (its first president was Ahmed Ferit Bey, the Turkish Ambassador in London) of the Association of Turk Ojaks. Of late years these clubs have sent off a strong shoot in the Society for the Protection of Children. Perhaps nothing [illegible] better [illegible] the new spirit that has been created than an incident which occurred [illegible] Hotel on the eve of Children's Day. Some of my staff had been [illegible] with Hamdullah Subhi Bey. As he entered the saloon the children, who were [illegible] for a performance to be given the following day, rushed up to [illegible] minister of the Turk Ojaks, whom they obviously regarded as their leader and [illegible]. This simple incident, which even five years ago would have been impossible in Turkey, is to me symptomatic of the change which has taken place, and what is more important, a symbol of the new Turkey which is in process of being [illegible].

4. As for the celebrations themselves, little need [illegible] were [illegible] every town and village, but were probably on the [illegible] of Angora and Constantinople. To the capital children [illegible] of the country, and on the morning of the 23rd some hundred [illegible] conveyed to the residences of the Ghazi, Ismet Pasha and the President of the Assembly, whom they all saluted in turn. In the afternoon a large children's party was given at the Palace Hotel, at which the President of the Republic and all the Ministers were present. The Ghazi, who appeared to be in excellent health, was in his happiest vein, made friends with the children, and sat out, with apparent enjoyment, the long programme of twenty-five items given by the children, none of whom was more than 12 years of age, and who included the [illegible] Ismet Pasha. In Constantinople there were fêtes, baby competitions [illegible] mothers, processions of boy scouts and girl guides, decisions to [illegible] and addresses in which the stress was thrown upon the need for the [illegible] good citizens of the republic.

5. By the State schools, by organisations like the boy scouts, the girl [illegible] and the Society for the Protection of Children and by hospital [illegible] ment is trying to bring up the rising generation on modern lines. [illegible] generation, for their part, are mostly keen supporters of a régime which gives them such modernism. They know well enough that, instead of having football and dances and picnics, their parents were tied to apron-strings in the harem. But, when all this has been said and done, there remains a grave question. The attack on the harem and the gradual dissipation of the spirit of intrigue nurtured there which permeated Turkish life and character is all to the good. So is the introduction of notions of hygiene. But the harem, besides containing so much that was bad, also enshrined most that was best in Turkish life. It remains to be seen whether a people which is rapidly throwing away its religion and family traditions will find moral support enough in a half-baked westernism.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2271/92/44] No. 47

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 192.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 1, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the foundation stone of the [illegible] Embassy building at Angora was laid on the 25th April by Ismet Pasha [illegible] Minister of Public Works, and a representative of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs were also present. The ceremony itself was very simple, and though many invitations had been issued only some thirty to forty persons attended, including representatives of all the foreign missions in Angora except the French Embassy and the Belgian Legation.

2. The Persian Ambassador made a very short speech, in which he said that the laying of the stone was an important event, as it symbolised the brotherhood of the

Turkish and Persian nations, both of which had in the course of the last few years produced great men to lead them along the path of development and progress. It was their common desire that this brotherhood should be cultivated, and he felt sure that the establishment of a Persian Embassy in Angora could only further this cause. The speech was [illegible] of any kind, and concluded with good wishes for the health of Reza Shah and of the [illegible] was then laid, and after a short time the [illegible] dispersed.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2272/908/44 No. 48

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 195.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 2, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith fourteen copies of the report* drawn up by the Straits Commission for the year 1928. Owing to the leakage that has constantly occurred in previous years the commission has already issued the report to the press, and the Turkish newspapers have commented favourably upon it as a result, no doubt, of the absence of any severe criticism of the Turkish authorities [illegible] in the report to which I need draw your [illegible] having formed the subject of correspondence with [illegible]. It is satisfactory to note that by the exercise of [illegible] prevailing upon the Turkish [illegible] the simplification of sanitary procedure described in [illegible] of positive achievement of this sort. It may be hoped that in [illegible] commission will be equally successful with the other [illegible]. When one remembers the uncompromising attitude [illegible] year or two ago, one must admit that this progress, slow though it is, is gratifying, and I am confident that much of it has been due to the ability and tact of the British delegate. A great [illegible] of the time of the commission is necessarily taken up by these matters of [illegible] detail, but none [illegible] commission may be taken as [illegible] political [illegible] to it by the Lausanne Convention.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

E 2273/845/44 No. 49

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 198.)

Sir, *Constantinople, May 1, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that after [illegible] months of [illegible] negotiation Mr. [illegible] M. Dickson, the representative of the committee of the bondholders of the City of Constantinople [illegible] per Cent. 1909 Loan, at last signed an agreement on the 29th ultimo with the Prefect of Constantinople. The general lines of this agreement are shown in the [illegible] memorandum with which Mr. Dickson furnished this Embassy last March. Roughly speaking, the bondholders forgo arrears of interest, the municipality forgoes bridge tolls now held in suspense, interest is to be paid at 3½ per cent., and the loan is to be completely paid off by 1962 at latest, the bridge tolls being [illegible] into the Ottoman Bank and an annuity of from £37,400 to £60,000 being [illegible] therefrom.

These principles were [illegible] March. Since then the negotiations have been concerned with the form of the agreement. In the end it has been decided that it shall be submitted to all the persons who are suing the Turkish authorities in various Mixed Arbitral Tribunals and that when it has been accepted—not later than the 20th instant—by such a proportion of these plaintiffs as the Turkish authorities may consider sufficient, the two parties in each of these various cases shall request the tribunals, where the actions are pending, to "homologate" the agreement. As the

* Not printed.

Anglo-Turkish Tribunal is not sitting, Mr. Dickson has arranged for the decree to be sent by post to M. Hammerich and the British and Turkish members for signature.

7. It is not too much to say that but for Mr. Dickson's experience of Turkey and unlimited patience the agreement would never have been signed. At his instance I have from time to time made friendly and unofficial representations, and on one occasion I had the satisfaction of being solemnly offered by Tewfik Rushdi Bey ½ per cent. less than Mr. Dickson had himself already obtained. Still, in spite of the exasperating narrow-mindedness and dilatoriness of the Turkish negotiators, it is satisfactory that an agreement has at last been reached in this long outstanding [illegible] we can be sure that the Turkish authorities will abide by it, [illegible] keep to it, if they possibly can.

[illegible]

Enclosure in No. 49.

City of Constantinople 6 per Cent. 1909 Loan.

(Confidential.) *March 17, [illegible]*

THE prefect of the city has verbally informed the representative of the Bondholders' Committee that he accepts a settlement of the dispute regarding this loan on the following basis:—

(1.) Bondholders to forge[illegible] consideration of the municipality abandoning in favour of the [illegible] all claims to the Galata Bridge tolls now held in suspense by the [illegible] bridge tolls to recommence [illegible] 1929 (the beginning of the new financial year).

(3.) As from that date the annuity for future interest and sinking fund to [illegible] as follows:—

[illegible] year [illegible] and complete extinction of the loan.

(4.) These annuities to be employed for:—

(a.) The payment of 3½ per cent. per annum interest on all bonds outstanding, and the balance, for

(b.) Sinking fund, enabling the loan to be completely paid off in 1962 at latest.

5. While certain minor points still require adjustment, the contracts for giving effect to the above will now be prepared, and, provided no fresh hitch occurs, the distribution of the bridge tolls now held in suspense can take place on ratification of the agreement by the bondholders.

(6.) Under the agreement the coupon due on the 14th June next will be paid on the 14th September, that due on the 14th December, 1929, will be paid on the 14th March, 1930, and so on.

[E 2278/92/44] No. [illegible]

Sir R. Graham to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 6.)

(No. 302.)

Sir, *Rome, May 3, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs arrived in Rome on the morning of the 27th April on an official visit. He was accompanied by his wife and daughter, Tewfik Bey, Ambassador and Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic, Numan Rifat Bey, Director-General of Political Affairs, and Kemal Aziz Bey, of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

2. At 11 A.M. on the morning of his arrival Tewfik Rushdy Bey was received by the King, and at noon he visited Signor Mussolini. In the afternoon Signor Grandi visited Tewfik Rushdy Bey, after which the latter, accompanied by his wife

was received by the Queen, and in the evening the Turkish mission were present at the opera.

3. On the afternoon of the 28th the Governor of Rome gave a reception at the capital, and in the evening Signor Mussolini gave a dinner at the Excelsior Hotel, after which speeches were made by Signor Mussolini and the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs:—

"I am very pleased to be able personally to express to your Excellency this evening the sentiments of deep sympathy with which the Italian Government and nation welcome you to Rome.

"Your Excellency's visit is a new proof of the friendly relations which exist between our two countries, and it reminds me of the other meetings which [illegible] with your Excellency and which formed the basis of a more cordial understanding between our two countries, consolidating their ancient friendship.

"I have already had the opportunity of expressing to you my sincere [illegible] for the rapid development of Turkey in all branches of her activities. [illegible] by inspired in the Italian people by the progress made by the Turkish nation under the enlightened guidance of the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal.

"I wish to repeat to you once again these sentiments, and I am sure that our sincere friendship is a solid guarantee of peace in Europe and above all in the Mediterranean; the cordial relations existing between us are destined to develop to an ever greater extent along the lines of reciprocal appreciation of common interests in the spheres of politics, economics and culture.

"[illegible] that I raise my glass to the health of his Excellency [illegible] of the Turkish Republic and salute in the person of your [illegible] the noble Turkish nation, expressing at the same time the warmest wishes for its prosperity."

The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs replied:—

"[illegible] your Excellency most sincerely for your kind expressions of [illegible] and for the gracious courtesy with which you have been good enough [illegible] your words. Already yesterday, on the occasion of the brilliant [illegible] which we were given, we felt at the first contact with the high authorities [illegible] kindly country, that warm atmosphere of cordiality and confidence in which alone reciprocal sentiments of sympathy and sincere friendship can prosper. I have just experienced the same feeling while listening to your Excellency, when you defined absolutely correctly the character of the visit which I have the honour of paying to the Royal Government. I am very moved by the words and praise with which your Excellency remarked on the rapid development of Turkey along the road of progress, and the work which she has completed in a short time under the enlightened guidance of our great chief, the Ghazi Mustafa Kemal.

"A spontaneous expression of confidence and respect by the nation constitutes for those elected by destiny a pedestal of unshakable strength which raises them to the rôle of leaders and to the apotheosis of unquestioned chief. It is certainly your destiny, Excellency, and you can be sure that we understand better than anyone the profound significance of the high and full confidence with which we see the eminent Italian Prime Minister [illegible].

"After this there is no need [illegible] to add that the Turkish people sees with equal sympathy the Italian nation advancing along the road which has been [illegible] traced by your Excellency under the enlightened ægis of His Majesty King Victor Emanuel III.

"The Government of the Republic [illegible] given many proofs of their sincere and loyal attachment to the cause of peace (the only one which [illegible] the people the assurance of the normal development which is their right [illegible] constitutes the primary condition of all international relations and collaboration as well as the foundations of human well being and of the progress of civilisation) consider Italo-Turkish friendship to be a factor of the greatest importance for Mediterranean and Europe [illegible].

"I am truly and sincerely convinced that our common efforts and our cordial collaboration will be successful in this large sphere, and that in this atmosphere our relations will continue to develop relations of which the solid basis lies in the objectivity which we attribute to the vision of positive reality, and in the mutual appreciation of our real interests."

Then followed the usual toast

7. On the morning of the 29th Tewfik Rushdy Bey received representatives of [illegible] and said that as far as relations between Italy and Turkey were concerned it was unnecessary for him to add anything to the speech made the night before by Signor Mussolini. Commercial relations between the two countries would soon be [illegible] of commerce. An Italian delegation would visit Angora and discuss the [illegible]. During his visit to Germany he had agreed with Stresemann to conclude a treaty of arbitration which would not have [illegible] clauses. As regards Greece, in spite of the exuberance of certain Greek and Turkish newspapers, their relations were perfectly good, and the two Governments intended to sign a pact of friendship as soon as the outstanding questions were settled which he hoped would be very shortly. The treaty would most probably be signed at Angora and then Greece, Turkey and Italy would be bound by three pacts. As regards Albania, he said that the Turkish people were in full sympathy with the Albanians. When asked why the Turkish Government had not yet [illegible] the new Albanian regime, he replied that it had not been recognised exclusively owing to certain reasons of internal peace in Turkey, which had forced Angora to be [illegible]. Bonds of relationship united many subjects of the Albanian Monarch to many subjects of the Turkish Republic, and that explained why the problem required special examination. The fact that the diplomatic relations between the two countries were perfectly normal [illegible] that it had not been [illegible] recent and already been come to [illegible] regards the question of urban property, and it was hoped [illegible] as regards rural property. Relations with the Soviet Government [illegible] and he stated emphatically that although the Turks were [illegible] the same true Nationalists and sympathised with every form of [illegible] from China to South America. When asked his opinion on the situation in Afghanistan Tewfik Bey stated that Turkey was for the independence of Afghanistan and added that, [illegible] the Great Powers, Angora, which followed Afghan events with the deepest attention, made no mystery of their attitude. He concluded by stating that he believed in a future victory for the reigning house of Amanullah.

8. Signor Grandi gave a luncheon on the 29th, and in the afternoon (after attending a meeting of the Chamber) the Turkish Minister had another meeting with Signor Mussolini at the Palazzo Chigi, after which the latter and the Turkish Ambassador in Rome exchanged ratifications of the Italo-Turkish Treaty of Neutrality, Conciliation and Judicial Settlement, which was signed on the 30th May 1928 (see my despatch No. 437 of the 2nd June 1928).

9. In the evening Signor Mussolini attended a dinner at the Turkish Embassy. A reception followed, at which I was present.

10. I had an opportunity of conversation with Rushdy Bey, who was almost effusively cordial, and expressed his warm feelings towards His Majesty's Government [illegible] and esteem for Sir Ronald Lindsay and his [illegible] Sir Geoffrey Clerk.

11. Head Signor Mussolini [illegible] that the visit [illegible] official [illegible] Turkish [illegible] to decorate the Rushdy Bey [illegible]. Signor Mussolini said that he was much impressed with Rushdy Bey's [illegible] and kept a detailed account of his chief [illegible].

12. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs left Rome on the 30th instant.

13. A note on the contents of the preceding paragraphs is enclosed.

I have, &c.

R. GRAHAM

E 2367/92/44 No. 51

Sir P. Lorraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain (received May 1[illegible])

(No. 122. Confidential.)

(Geographical.) Athens, May 9, 1929.

I HAVE received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs a confidential memorandum explaining the present position regarding questions outstanding between Turkey and Greece in connexion with exchange of populations, and stating that the Greek Government take a serious view of the seizure of Greek properties at Constantinople, which still continues.

Greek representatives abroad have been sent copies of this memorandum to enable them to present a statement of the facts to governments to which they are accredited, with a view to counteracting misleading statements in the Turkish press, and, as I infer, to emphasising the moderation hitherto shown by the Greek Government. For this it certainly makes a good case.

As I assume that the Greek Minister will make use of the memorandum in conversation with you, I am not telegraphing in great detail, but will send the text by bag.

E 2400/7/44 No. 52

British Agent, Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, to Foreign Office. (Received May 1[illegible])

Sir, Constantinople, May 1[illegible], 1929.

I HAVE the honour to forward you herewith the annual report of the work of the [illegible] Mixed [illegible] for the year [illegible].

During the period under review the tribunal has been composed of M. Hammerich, president, Mr. W. H. Hull, British arbitrator, and Memduh Bey, Turkish arbitrator. [illegible] have been heard during this period, and a tabulated statement is attached hereto showing the nature of the claims and the decisions.

It will be noticed that nine of these claims were against the British Government, all of which failed.

In addition to the above hearings, the [illegible] forty-three claims, which it has thrown out on account of failure to pay the [illegible] and sixty-eight other claims which it has rejected for [illegible] proceed.

[illegible] meantime, so far as concerns the hearing of claims, on the 30th April, but the secretariat and the offices of the respective agents remain open for the routine procedure [illegible].

Out of the original 558 claims had before the tribunal there will remain to be [illegible] after the annual vacation, twelve claims against the British Government [illegible] in which I, acting as the British agent, am a plaintiff, and fifty-[illegible] claims [illegible].

A test case has not yet been taken in the Cyprus claims, which are [illegible] in those in which I am mandatory, and if we are successful on the question of competence there will be about 100 of these claims to examine on their merits.

It will be seen from the attached list that practically all questions of principle have been [illegible] decided, and that future cases will depend on the facts, with the following exceptions:

(a.) Are Cypriots to be considered to have been British-protected persons before the war within the meaning of article [illegible]?

(b.) Can a corporate body, which has held land in the name of a nominee, succeed [illegible]?

(c.) [illegible] England before the war without the [illegible] as a British national [illegible]?

The large claim of the 5 per cent. municipal loan bondholders shows every sign of being settled by negotiation.

A number of cases where the claimants have been successful on the question of [illegible] are [illegible].

The only large claim against the British Government now outstanding is the claim put forward by the heirs of the ex-Sultan, Abdul Hamid.

The work of the tribunal [illegible] to be proceeding quickly and smoothly and the relations existing [illegible] Turkish Government and ourselves are satisfactory.

It is impossible to estimate the duration of the tribunal with any degree of certainty, but by this time next year the end should be well in sight.

I have, &c.

OWEN WELLS, *British Agent,*
Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

Enclosure in No. 52

Report of Work done by the Anglo-Turkish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, September 1928 to April 30, 1929.

Tribunal No.	Claimant	Defendant	Object.	Amount Claimed	Hearing.	Judgment Delivered.	Result from Our View	Observations
7	Andrew Weir and Co.	Turkish Government	Payment of pre-war debt	£ [illegible]		Nov. 13, 1928		Claim settled by agreement of the parties concerned.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties in Asia Minor	£10,000		Nov. [illegible]		Claim [illegible] for reason of lateness, articles 7 and 35).
[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	Damages [illegible]	£ [illegible]		Nov. [illegible]		Claim inadmissible for reasons of lateness (articles 70 and 35).
[illegible]	Reginald de Fontaine Whittall	Marc Marc P. Bayar [illegible] and Consorts and Turkish Government	Execution of contract [illegible] two mines. Restitution of goods and machinery	£1 [illegible]	[illegible]	Dec. 1, 1928	[illegible]	Tribunal incompetent. Contract governed by ordinary law, article 77, the seizure of goods and machinery being subsidiary to the contract. Tribunal precluded from examining these items.
83	Noah Schoe	Turkish Government	Execution of pre-war contract of employment pay salaries due	£ 121		[illegible]	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Claimant being civil servant, employment by Government not a matter of ordinary contract, but of public order.
103	K. Mosorian (Limited)	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house in Constantinople. Damages for goods seized	£ [illegible] for the house £16,523 [illegible] for the goods		[illegible]	Lost	Claim dismissed. Property registered in name of two brothers Mosorian, and not in firm's name. Seizure took place during occupation of Constantinople. No evidence as to seizure of goods.
[illegible]	Chrisanthi W. Rivens	Turkish Government	Restitution of three properties at Bourmat (Smyrna)			[illegible]	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Claimant failed to produce satisfactory evidence as to her British nationality.
389	Turkish Government	Vickers (Limited) and British Government	Restitution of two guns and a rangefinder of warship "Messoudieh"	£7 181		Dec. [illegible] 1928	Won	Claim dismissed. Guns requisitioned by British Government. Execution of contract under article 73 cannot be enforced if prevented by *force majeure*. Damages excluded by article 58.

Tribunal No.	Claimant	Defendant	Object.	Amount Claimed	Hearing.	Judgment Delivered.	Result from Our View	Observations
[illegible]	Turkish Government	Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., and Vickers (Limited)	Pre-war contract for ammunition of warship [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Won	Claim dismissed. Ammunition requisitioned by British Government. Article 73 on contracts not applicable if execution prevented by *force majeure*. Damages excluded by article 58.
51	[illegible] Government	Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co. (Limited)	Pre-war contract for the [illegible] warship "Sultan Osman"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] 1928	Won	Claim dismissed. Torpedoes requisitioned by British Government. Article 73 on contracts not applicable if prevented by *force majeure*. Damages excluded by article 58.
[illegible]	[illegible] Navigation	Bremner Forest Shipbuilding Co., Westminster Bank (Limited), and G. [illegible]	Execution of pre-war contract on ferry boat "Buyuk Ada"	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Won	Claim dismissed. Boat requisitioned by British Government. Article 73 on contracts not applicable if execution prevented by *force majeure*. Damages excluded by article 58.
[illegible]	Ligue aéronautique	Sir W. G. Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., and Vickers (Limited)	Pre-war contracts on warship, two cruisers, four destroyers and two submarines	1280 [illegible]		[illegible]		Has given an issue of admittance of claim lodged out of time. Tribunal decides to admit claim in spite of belatedness. Both parties having agreed to let it stand.
[illegible]	Soultan Kehayan	Turkish Government	Restitution of vineyards at Adana			[illegible]		Claim inadmissible, having been lodged out of time.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of property at Smyrna			[illegible]		Claim inadmissible, having been lodged out of time.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties at Kemagh (Erzerum)			[illegible]		Claim inadmissible, having been lodged out of time.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of a house in Constantinople			[illegible]		Claim inadmissible, having been lodged out of time.
540	Sarkis Mastikian	Turkish Government	Restitution of properties at Kemagh (Erzerum)			[illegible]		Claim inadmissible, having been lodged out of time.
[illegible]	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of a property [illegible]			[illegible]		Claim inadmissible, having been lodged out of time.
4	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Pre-war [illegible] for a contract	£T [illegible]	[illegible]	April 10, 1929	Lost	Claim dismissed. Payment should be made in paper currency according to provisions of article 84.
108	Germain Wittal	Turkish Government	Restitution of property arising out of leases on two farms, Smyrna. Rent and damages		[illegible]	April 10, 1929	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Leases were entered upon after October 30, 1918, therefore governed by common law according to article 77.
3	Lynch Bros., Ltd.	British Government and Turkish Government	Incomes of [illegible] seized at Bagdad			April 10, 1929	Won	Tribunal incompetent. A British subject cannot sue his own Government before the M.A.T.
[illegible]	Bekir Sami	British Government	Restitution of money taken while a prisoner of war	£T [illegible]	[illegible]	April 10, 1929	Won	Tribunal incompetent. Property does not exist and cannot be identified. Article 122 outside the competence of M.A.T.'s.

Tribunal No.	Claimant.	Defendant.	Object.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Result of Case.	Observations
[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	Amounts due on four charter parties concluded during armistice	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Tribunal incompetent. Amounts claimed for charter parties dated after October 30, 1918, and therefore governed by common law, not by article 77.
[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Lost	Tribunal incompetent. Property alleged to be seized does not exist and cannot be identified.
[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	Payment of sums due on pre-war contract	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Tribunal rejects exception of irreversibility based on last paragraph of article 78. Orders defendant to [illegible] on the merits.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Claim [illegible]. Petition against British Government [illegible] of time and delay is not justified by any reasons of distance or force majeure.
38	[illegible]	British Government and British [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Tribunal incompetent to deal with [illegible] against the British Government as a British national, cannot see his own Government before a M.A.T.
[illegible]	Mohamed Aziz [illegible]	The Law, Car [illegible] Insurance Corporation and others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Claim dismissed. The insurance companies ceased to exist long ago, and the local agents cannot be held personally responsible for the non-execution of the policies.
[illegible]	[illegible] Mosseri	[illegible]	Restitution of property at Erzerum	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Claim dismissed. Claimant [illegible] produce evidence as to the seizure of his properties by the Turkish Government.
362	[illegible]	Turkish Government	Restitution of [illegible] factories and machinery at Mersina	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Tribunal rejects the exception of irreversibility based on article 70. Orders the proceedings to continue on the merits.
448	Safer [illegible]	British Government	Prisoner of war. Payment of salary according to Convention of Geneva	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Claim is unfounded. The Treaty of Lausanne does not contain any provision justifying the claim, and tribunal cannot take into consideration the Convention of Geneva.
44[illegible]	[illegible]	British Government	Prisoner of war. Payment of salary according to Convention of Geneva	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	W	Tribunal incompetent. The Treaty of Lausanne does not contain any provision justifying the claim, and the tribunal cannot take into consideration the Convention of Geneva.
3[illegible]	Thos. C. Tucker	Société des Docks et Ateliers du Haut-Rhône	[illegible] delivered before the war	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (partially)	Tribunal decides that goods were held by defendant on consignment except a certain quantity for which defendant ordered to pay £A51 19s. 6d. and 780 piastres plus 5 per cent. interest.
4[illegible]	Mrs. Marie Fuller	Turkish Government	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	April 29, 192[illegible]	Lost	Claim dismissed. Claimant failed to produce evidence as to the seizure of her property by the Turkish Government.
48[illegible]	Miss Christine McLean	Turkish Government	Restitution of property at [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	April 29, 192[illegible]	Won	Tribunal rejects the exception of irreversibility of the [illegible] on the merits. Orders the defendant to pay interest [illegible] days.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Execution of pre-war contract or return of money paid and damages	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Claim [illegible]

[E 2411/91/44] No 53

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 13.)

(No. 206.)
Sir, *Constantinople, May 7, 1929.*

MY despatch No. 191 of the 30th ultimo attempted to give some idea of Turkish policy regarding the rising generation and of the results of that policy as seen in Angora and Constantinople. I have now the honour to enclose a copy of a despatch from His Majesty's consul at Mersina, which shows the other side of the medal. Mr. Chafy indicates how futile the achievements of the official policy are apt to become in a small provincial town and how little sympathy they may command in a Turk who has been as good a Nationalist as any in Turkey. If the official policy is translated into such mediocre doings in so comparatively accessible a place as Mersina, it is easy to imagine what a task the Government will have until it can influence the remoter towns and countryside.

2. The more general criticisms of Mr. Chafy's [illegible] grumblings which may be heard all over Turkey from those who do not [illegible] by the powers that be and who would like to see their luck under a fresh regime. But such critics do not squarely face the question whether any other regime is conceivable which would do better by the country than the present.

I have, &c.
GEORGE CLERK.

Enclosure in No.

Consul Chafy to Sir G. Clerk.

(No. 15.)
Sir, *Mersina, May 2, 1929.*

IN the course of a recent conversation a well-educated Turk with whom I have been [illegible] time, who has been here for many years, who has an exceptional amount of [illegible] and common sense and who is in a certain position which enables him to know everything that is going on, expressed the following views, which I think are worth recording and may be taken as representative of those of most sensible people down here.

2. Speaking of "Children's Week," he said it is all for show and the programme is complete "hot air." He has six small children of his own, and said he is sick of having them dragged about the streets in idiotic processions to idiotic ceremonies and having them tired to death and having to provide them with new "Yerli Mal" clothes. Beyond giving free meals to a number of poor urchins, he does not believe that the Child Welfare Society here is doing any practical good. He was extremely contemptuous of all these new-fangled "Bairams," or fêtes, from "Children's Bairam" to "Tree Bairam" which is suggested in connexion with arboriculture and reafforestation schemes.

3. My friend (whom I will call F.) said corruption is as rife as ever in Government departments. Of this I never had any doubts and have heard first hand of many examples.

4. F. is a deeply religious man and strongly disapproves of the anti-religious policy of the present regime. He said that young people are growing up without any religion or guiding principles and that the new Turkish traders of Mersina are a lot of rascals, as bad as the Greeks and Armenians.

5. He said modern attempts at education are rotten and not half as good as those of the original Young Turks. He said the schoolchildren of Mersina are learning nothing at all, except to read and write the new alphabet. He said the only decent schools round here are the American missionary schools.

6. Speaking of the muzzled press, he said he used to write for it freely in the old days, but that now he and other educated Turks are so frightened of putting any words on paper that they are literally forgetting how to express themselves in their own language. He said he reads no Turkish newspaper himself because they are such utter rubbish.

7. Any form of "elections" are, of course, he said, the most utter farce. Deputies in Parliament are all out for their own personal interests.

8. F. said that the people here, whom he described as [illegible] determined authority could control, are really discontented. They are especially aggravated at the present forms of taxation.

9. He said the only possible salvation of Turkey is some form of "foreign direction." He is personally waiting, as a "spectator," to see what is going to happen. He does not think the present regime (for which he himself went out with the Chettes) can possibly bring prosperity to the country.

10. F., who has for months been a regular visitor to my house, without unsealing his lips about politics, had qualms of conscience as soon as he had "let himself go," making pantomimic and significant gestures at his throat and asking nervously that the window-lattice should be closed. He is a "Terrible Turc" away from private intercourse, but the most spontaneous and unguarded gesture which he has yet made in my presence was one of enthusiasm (on another occasion) at my suggestion that I might find him employment away from Turkey.

I have, &c.
R. E. W. CHAFY.

[E 2413/90/44] No. 54

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 13.)

(No. 208.)
Sir, *Constantinople, May 9, 1929.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit the accompanying copy of a leading article* in the "Milliet" of the 7th instant on "Communism in Turkey." This article is not uninteresting, since it describes roughly the present attitude of the Turkish Government towards communism. It regards communism as an exotic plant which cannot flourish in the democratic soil of Turkey and which only blossoms out here and there when artificially nurtured by agencies within Turkey or abroad. It professes to regard those who [illegible] by communism with pity rather than alarm and it relies on the police system to suppress subversive activities.

2. During the course of the present year there have been several trials of Communists, first at Angora, then at Smyrna, and now a case proceeding here which has given rise to Mahmud Bey's article. As heretofore, the authorities contented themselves at Angora and Smyrna with light sentences or acquittals. To deal thus with offenders provides a warning for others and entails no serious trouble with the Soviet Embassy. It is probable that the pamphlets and placards which are said to have been [illegible] in Constantinople contain nothing very incriminating. Those arrested appear to be only a handful, including some Bulgarians and Russians. As His Majesty's consul-general at Smyrna has reported previously, a charge of "communism" may sometimes only mean one of opposition, but, generally speaking, these legal proceedings indicate that the Government is faithful to its policy of keeping Communist activities within narrow limits.

I have, &c.
(For the Ambassador),
W. S. EDMONDS.

[E 2514/92/44] No 55

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 17.)

(No. 126. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic. P.) *Athens, May 17, 1929.*

MY despatch of 13th May.

Question of future relations with Turkey is certainly causing Minister for Foreign Affairs some anxiety. He has again expressed to me his personal belief that the presence of the neutral members of the Mixed Commission at Angora affords what may be the last chance of a friendly and satisfactory agreement being reached. The Turkish Government must, however, allow the matters still in dispute between the two Governments to be dealt with by the neutral members acting virtually as arbitrators.

If this hope is disappointed, the Minister for Foreign Affairs is unable to see how Graeco-Turkish relations are to be prevented from going from bad to worse. Meanwhile, he said, the Turks were cheerfully seizing further Greek properties in

* Not printed.

Constantinople, and he thought a situation might well arise in which the Greeks there would have no alternative but emigration. In such an eventuality, the Moslems in Western Thrace would have to go.

His Excellency considers that Greece has been conciliatory throughout the negotiations, and even liberal in matters of finance. She is really anxious for an agreement, and it will be good to conclude one in a spirit of respect, and for basis but through [illegible] of Greece, Angora seems now throw [illegible] away a [illegible] opportunity. The present circumstances are the most favourable for an agreement that are likely to arise and if they are not made use of, he fears that inevitably, sooner or later, there will be a "crash" (he at once added emphatically that by this he did not mean "war"). The "crash" if it comes, will be of the kind hinted at in the preceding paragraph, though Greece will continue to do all she can to avoid it. Such a crash may, the Minister for Foreign Affairs fears, adversely affect the interest of other Powers as well as Greece, they being likely to suffer by the complete "Turkification" of Constantinople, as [illegible] suffered in similar circumstances at Smyrna.

His Excellency expects to have further news, good or bad, to communicate to me in four or five days time.

I am sending copy of this telegram to Constantinople by bag.

[E 2529/92/44] No. 96

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 21.)

(No. [illegible]) *Angora, May [illegible], 1929.*

Sir,

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs has returned from his latest European tour in the best of spirits and more than ever convinced of the essential rightness of Turkish foreign policy and of the statesmanship of its exponent, Tewfik Rushdi Bey.

2. When I visited his Excellency yesterday, he favoured me with a [illegible] of his impressions and conclusions. He passed rather lightly over his stay at Geneva, where he had evidently not found it too easy to reconcile loyal support of the Soviet proposals with the actual military [illegible] of Turkey. His Excellency was happier when talking of Germany. He had been much impressed [illegible] which he had seen there, and greatly struck by the first [illegible] that a long had addressed to him. [illegible] This said Tewfik Rushdi was not [illegible] seen the applicants of his country [illegible] hundreds of thousands of men in the [illegible] expressing the fact that eleven years after [illegible] place as a Great Power, and underlying it was the [illegible] come to Europe and the day when Germany was [illegible] realisation of her inequality which [illegible] uncertainty of German policy [illegible] place in the community of European peoples; to do so by force of [illegible] for a long period, out of the question; could it be done by [illegible] if so, in what way best? Many Germans thought that the only way in which Germany could secure the rewards of her economic strength would be by the help of the United States, and the tendency to "Americanise" German industrial enterprise was increasing daily. There were, however, many who were not really satisfied at this subordination of Germany to the United States, and more than one German statesman had expressed his admiration of the position acquired by Turkey and had asked Tewfik Rushdi how it was done. His Excellency had answered, "Quite simply. By being ready to be friends with everybody, but taking care that a friendship with one Power cannot be [illegible] as directed against another."

As regards the reparations discussions in Paris Tewfik Rushdi expressed the [illegible] that, after a rupture or two, agreement would be reached in a few months, but even then the German problem would not be solved. Tranquillity in Europe could only be reached when the Rhine provinces were evacuated [illegible] was considered as an equal by the other European Powers.

[illegible] The Minister for Foreign Affairs observed that his visit to Signor Mussolini had more than ever convinced him of the soundness of his policy of friendship towards Italy. There were three acts of State for which he was responsible and to which he would always look back with pride and satisfaction, and they all had the one feature

in common, that their initiation had been unpopular in his own country and he had [illegible] a hard fight to convince [illegible] he had succeeded. The first was the Mosul Treaty, the second was the pact with [illegible] and the third was the agreement with M. Venizelos.

5. One point in connexion with his [illegible] visit on which the Minister for Foreign Affairs dwelt especially was the [illegible] Signor Mussolini had spoken of Greece and of the excellent relations [illegible] not only between Italy and Greece [illegible] Ministers of the two countries [illegible] Signor Mussolini's personality, was [illegible]

[illegible] he said that there would [illegible] Commission, including the neutral [illegible] taken by the Greeks as to which of two [illegible] The alternatives, which had [illegible] were either payment of a lump sum to Turkey or the [illegible] the [illegible] properties in Constantinople.

[illegible] Lastly the [illegible] Minister referred to his discussions with M. le Chambrun. He [illegible] he had with Italy, [illegible] and consequent commitments, he was none the less [illegible] with that country and, in that spirit, not only to settle the [illegible] in such a way as to leave no sore [illegible] at the post [illegible] the Syrian frontier and the Mersin [illegible] Le Chambrun "Either settle on the basis which our discussions [illegible] hold or go to arbitration." My French colleague, whom I saw this morning, told me that he had visited the Minister for Foreign Affairs immediately after my interview and that [illegible] exactly what Tewfik Rushdi had said to him. M. le Chambrun was [illegible] satisfied with the proposed agreement, and he hoped that it would very shortly be [illegible] definitive.

[illegible]

GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2668/92/44] No. 97

Sir P. Loraine to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 25.)

(No. 122.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, May 24, 1929.*

MY telegram of 17th May.

Greek Government have accepted in principle proposals of neutral members of mixed commission for settlement of outstanding questions, adding certain observations which are not reservations but are intended to explain Greek Government's understanding of the scope and interpretation of these proposals.

Greek Minister at Angora does not despair of similar Turkish acceptance in principle, and Minister for Foreign Affairs has therefore not lost hope.

(Copy by bag to Constantinople.)

[E 2681/845/44] No. 98.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 226.) *Constantinople, May 21, 1929.*

Sir,

IN my despatch No. 198 of the 2nd instant, I had the honour to report the general outline of the agreement reached in respect of the Constantinople 5 per cent. 1909 Loan. I now beg to enclose a copy of the text of the agreement.* In my previous

despatch I mentioned that the bridge tolls were to be paid into the Ottoman Bank, but I now understand that at the particular instance of the Turkish authorities it was agreed that the Banco di Roma, and not the Ottoman Bank, should take the place of the National Bank of Turkey.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

[E 2683/274/44] No. [illegible]

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 228.)
Sir,

Constantinople, May 22, 1929.

WITH reference to Sir H. Rumbold's despatch No. 288 of the 21th ultimo, I have the honour to inform you that the Franco-German conciliation treaty was signed at Angora on the 16th May by Tewfik Rushdi Bey and the German Ambassador. No information regarding the provisions of this treaty has yet been made public.

I have sent a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

E 2775/92/44 No. 66

Sir P. Lorainne to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 4.)

(No. 131.)
(Telegraphic.) R.

Athens, May 31, 1929.

MY telegram No. [illegible]

Proposals of neutral members of mixed commission made to both Governments are, as previously stated, accepted by Greek Government involve payment by Greece of £[illegible] to Turkey out of £[illegible] earmarked in 1927, plus about £1 million in respect of various categories of compensation.

Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that Turkish Government, however, instead of accepting neutrals' proposals, put up different proposals of their own and use these latter as a basis for further negotiation with neutral members; that as a result neutral members have now made fresh proposals which involve payment by Greece of £800,000 or £[illegible] over and above amounts indicated in paragraph 1.

Of these extra charges, Greece, to show her goodwill and to prevent collapse of negotiations altogether, has accepted £150,000, but Minister for Foreign Affairs tells me that Greek Government do not feel able to make any further concession.

[E 2794/1503/44] No. 61.

Mr. Kennard to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 3.)

(No. 237.)
Sir,

Belgrade, May 28, 1929.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have had conversations at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Legation regarding the negotiations between the Turkish and Serb-Croat-Slovene Governments which largely confirm the information given in Sir G. Clerk's despatch No. 190 of the 30th April, of which his Excellency was good enough to send me a copy.

2. The Turkish Minister stated, however, that these negotiations have now been transferred from Angora to Belgrade and [illegible] compensation to be paid for sequestrated Turkish properties in South Serbia is being considered on a new basis. [illegible] that an inclusive total figure should be reached as to the value of such properties, [illegible] that the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government should pay any sum agreed upon to the Turkish Government in instalments. Haydar Bey estimates that the [illegible] amounts to [illegible] some 100,000-200,000 hectares, which [illegible] hectare, though this is considerably below [illegible] the total sum, amounting to some 800 million dinars

repayable in ten years, might be too small and that the Turkish Government should make up any losses to the 6,000 odd proprietors involved in some other way. Some influential Turkish members of Parliament are among these proprietors and it is essential that their grievances in this respect should be redressed. The negotiations in this connexion may be lengthy and the proposed commercial *modus vivendi* between the two Governments would in any case expire at the end of August, as, under the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turkish Government will have to negotiate new commercial treaties with all the signatory Powers.

3. I asked Haydar Bey whether there were any further outstanding questions between the two countries and was informed that there were, for the moment, none of importance. He had recently received a report from the Turkish consul at Skoplje to the effect that some 600 teachers of Turkish had been dismissed in South Serbia, but he had no details at present and concluded that they must be instructors in the Moslem religion. As regards emigration, he calculated that there were now some 250,000 Turkish subjects of Turkish origin left in South Serbia, but that they were returning to Turkey at the rate of some 40,000 per year. No visas were given to Albanians who wished to emigrate to Turkey, though many of them were anxious to [illegible].

4. There were also numerous Bosnians of Serbian origin who wished to emigrate to Turkey and as many as 4,000 had done so last year. A movement had been promoted by the Bosnian society "Gazet," which is protected by the Government, with a view to putting a stop to this emigration, and the society was conducting an anti-Turkish propaganda against Mustafa Kemal and the measures taken to suppress [illegible] and other movements in Turkey.

I [illegible] sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at [illegible].

I have, &c.
H. W. KENNARD.

E 2791/343/44 No. [illegible]

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 3.)

(No. 245.)
Sir,

Constantinople, May 29, 1929.

FOREIGN schools in Turkey have in recent years encountered many difficulties in spite of the position secured to them by the letter addressed by Ismet Pasha to the chief Allied delegates at Lausanne and annexed to the treaty. These difficulties may be divided into two categories, (1) religious, and (2) general pressure to extend teaching in Turkish [illegible] subjects.

2. As regards the second of these, the pressure has been steady and continuous. The directors of the foreign schools have, however, gradually adapted themselves to the new conditions and have even at times succeeded, when the regulations issued from Angora were quite unworkable, in getting the Turkish authorities to be more accommodating. In the result, though petty interference is of almost daily occurrence and wastes time and money, the efficiency of the schools has not been seriously affected and foreign schools in Turkey are to-day in a happier position than [illegible] time seemed possible.

3. In the religious field—and the vast majority of the foreign schools in Turkey are fundamentally of a religious nature—the Turks have hitherto had matters all their own way. It is because this is no longer the case, and because an important success has been obtained unaided by a British school, that I have the honour to address to you the present despatch.

4. What at the time was known as the Battle of the Crucifix ended in complete surrender on the part of the French and Italian schools (see Sir R. Lindsay's despatch No. 712 of the 30th September, 1924). Crucifixes were removed from the classrooms, and neither they nor the American mission schools have for some [illegible] attempted any religious teaching.

5. Though the religious issue was of no great importance to either of the two [illegible] schools in Constantinople, it was a most serious one for the Scottish mission which has been working among the Jews in Constantinople since 1842. As you are

aware from my telegram No. 33 of the 25th July last, this mission is run jointly by the [illegible] Scottish churches. Its work is principally among the Jews, but children belonging to other faiths attend, and Jewish children form a number some 33 per cent of the whole. Of late there has been a considerable increase in the number of Turkish children attending the school, which seeks to give a sound education on Scottish lines to its 300 pupils.

8. Being as it is almost entirely dependent on Scottish subscribers, a *sine qua non* of whose subscriptions was the giving of religious instruction in the classrooms, the surrender of the other schools placed the mission in a position of extreme difficulty. Fortunately, its successive directors have succeeded in maintaining excellent relations with the local education authorities, and by such artifices as the use of the Bible as a text book for ancient history, religious instruction was [illegible] It was however then felt that, though the [illegible] then only with the written consent of their parents, and [illegible] definitely decided to continue religious instruction to the Old Testament for Jew and Christian alike and to close in June 1929.

7. It is unnecessary for me to detail at length all the developments and bargaining between the Turks since the decision to close was communicated to them in writing in October 1928. Every effort was made to induce the mission to modify its decision, during the winter months the school was the object of a whole series of unwelcome attentions from which it emerged unscathed, the cessation of Old Testament teaching was ordered, and other schemes so dear to the Turk were [illegible] into use. All were, however, of no avail. The staff was dismissed and pupils [illegible] to look out for other schools to which to send their children.

8. Then as has been so often the case with the Turks, when they were at last convinced that the mission authorities meant what they had said—though as a matter of fact they were contemplating giving way on one important point to secure a settlement—came surrender. Early in the present month the mission was [illegible] verbal permission to give New Testament teaching to all save Moslems, a permission which was followed a few days later by the receipt of a letter, of which a translation is enclosed, confirming the verbal permission. Further, by an official circular privilege was extended to all schools. Having attained its object, the joint committee of the Scottish mission has now reversed its decision to close, and the Scottish school, which does invaluable work among classes untouched by the two English schools, will resume its usual functions.

9. It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of the victory secured by the Scottish mission, but, on the other hand, the event is one which cannot be ignored. In the first place, it is to me one more sign of the undoubted fact that the Turks are slowly but surely coming to their senses. I doubt, nevertheless, if in similar circumstances a like success would have been obtained by a French or an Italian [illegible] regarding whose activities the Turks are no less suspicious than they were [illegible] it may be taken as a sign, and in the course of the discussions the Turks [illegible] English education is desired in Turkey, and that, [illegible] it proves once again in a small way what the Moslem settle [illegible] the one way in which to secure a success with the Turks is to make up one's mind and to stick to it.

I have &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

Enclosure in No. [illegible]

Letter from Turkish Authorities to Scottish Mission

(Translation.)

BY the provisions of article 37 of the Rules on Private and Foreign Schools, you are aware that instruction is forbidden to pupils who do not profess the same religious faith as the direction of the school, and that children must not be forced, encouraged or allowed to attend religious ceremonials. Nevertheless, your

pupils (non Moslem) who, of their own free will, desire to attend such instruction or ceremonials, may be allowed to do so provided the consent of their parents or guardians is first obtained. You are warned that you must keep within the provision allowed, and must not take [illegible] to the contents of this letter.

SAID

| E 2917/86/44 | No. 9 |

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 10.)

No. 244.)

Constantinople, May 29, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a law published in the "Official Gazette" of the 18th March last* providing for the adoption of the definite statement of Turkish Government revenue and expenditure for the financial year 1924-25. A copy of the schedules of revenue and expenditure for the same period, published in the report of the 40th Session of the Grand National Assembly, is also attached.*

2. This detailed account of the Turkish Government's financial stewardship [illegible] 1924-25 is of no great importance at the present time, but the statements of [illegible] and expenditure are of interest in that they serve to dissipate, in some [illegible] that the Government had, in its earlier budgets, accumulated a fairly considerable floating debt.

3. Only during the three most recent financial years has a balanced budget been presented to the Assembly for approval. In previous years, there was a [illegible] heavy deficit on the revenue side and this deficit was increased by supplementary credits voted to meet unexpected contingencies. [illegible] of any authoritative statement to the contrary, it was not unnatural to assume that the deficit increased with each succeeding budget, as in no case was provision made in a new budget, for the debt balance brought forward from the previous one.

4. An examination of the attached schedules serves to show that, as far as the financial year 1924-25 was concerned, the definite statements of revenue and expenditure differed widely from the budget approved by the Assembly.

5. The total expenditure authorised in the budget for 1924-25 amounted to £T 188,348,270, but the amount actually expended during the financial year was only £T 131,584,565, a reduction of nearly £T 57 million. Of this saving in expenditure, credits voted, but not expended, to the amount of nearly £T 39 million were definitely cancelled and the remaining credits, amounting to £T 18 million, were carried forward to the next financial year. These reductions were effected at the expense of every department appearing in the budget schedule.

6. As regards revenue, the estimates approved by the Assembly amounted to £T 120,614,610, whereas the amount actually received by the Treasury was £T 138,450,305, an increase of over £T 9 million. It will be seen, therefore that the deficit shown in the estimates of £T 59 million was, in actual practice converted into a surplus of nearly £T 7 million.

7. It should not be assumed that Turkish budgeting still continues to be equally defective. In 1924-25 it was impossible in the Treasury to make more than an inspired guess at the yield of many of the items of revenue, and expenditure was necessarily regulated, and modified by the amount of money available. At the present time, many of the principal items of expenditure such as Public Debt and Public Works, have been established by agreements and contracts and, on the revenue side, the experience of previous years now enables the Minister of Finance to estimate with a tolerable degree of certainty the amount to be produced by the various taxes imposed.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK

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* Not printed.

E 2923/92/44 No. 64

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 10.)

No. 273

Angora, June 4, 1929

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a translation of a statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs the day before the Assembly rose. It will be seen that Tewfik Rushdi Bey reported the settlement of the Syrian frontier (see my despatch No. 243 of the 29th May), the virtual settlement of the Greek exchange question, and the conclusion of a compromise with Italy for the submission to the International Court of Justice of the dispute concerning the islets off Castellorizo (see my despatch No. 55 of the 25th January 1928).

I have, &c.

GEORGE R. CLERK.

Enclosure in No. 64

Statement by Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Translation.)

Mes Collègues,

A L'OCCASION du budget et en rendant compte à la Grande Assemblée de nos affaires extérieures, j'avais déclaré qu'avant la suspension de vos travaux, je ferais des déclarations précises sur les questions en suspens de la frontière turco-syrienne, des échanges de fer et de l'échange, auxquelles vous avez montré [illegible] représentant, que vous prenez, avec l'importance et la sensibilité justifiées par leur caractère, une part toute particulière.

C'est pour satisfaire aux désirs que vous avez ainsi exprimés que je suis monté à la tribune.

Je tiens avant tout à vous déclarer qu'en persistant à travailler dans la voie qui a reçu votre approbation, votre Gouvernement, dirigé par notre grand chef [illegible] l'inspiration et la lumière se manifestent toujours aux moments les plus opportuns, se trouve avoir résolu les dernières questions extérieures en litige, avec la bonne volonté et le désir réciproque des Gouvernements intéressés.

Je tiens surtout à mentionner l'influence favorable [illegible] de ces affaires a eu et aura sur les relations turco-françaises.

Il est également naturel que la solution des affaires d'échange que nous avons avec la Grèce aura une influence favorable sur les relations turco-grecques.

Je suis heureux de vous informer que, d'autre part, parmi ces qu[illegible] dont la solution amicale avait été décidée depuis longtemps déjà, de la [illegible] de notre frontière maritime avec l'Italie et de la détermination, conformément à [illegible] proposition par la Cour permanente de Justice internationale de La Haye, de l'Etat auquel d'après le Traité de Lausanne doivent revenir les îlots qui s'y trouvent, a abouti à la conclusion d'un compromis signé avant hier entre l'Ambassadeur d'Italie et moi.

Un accord est également intervenu avec notre voisine, la Perse, sur la procédure [illegible] délimitation et la fixation de nos frontières communes et il a été [illegible] commission mixte, qui devra commencer ses travaux à bref délai. De telle sorte que les frontières de la nouvelle Turquie avec tous ses voisins sont effectivement et complètement fixées et il n'existe plus aucun différend essentiel entre elle et les Gouvernements étrangers. Les questions ainsi résolues étaient toutes directement ou indirectement des vestiges du passé et elles avaient depuis des années [illegible] notre opinion publique.

La modération montrée de toute part pour la bonne [illegible] difficultés [illegible] possibilité de trouver un mode de solution favorable [illegible] justes et pacifiques.

Nous en déduisons que la méthode suivie par la Turquie de rechercher la [illegible] ses intérêts et de ses droits dans la procédure internationale des solutions pacifiques de préférence à tout autre moyen, est pleine de promesse.

Comme résultat naturel et favorable de ces ententes, notre Ambassadeur à Paris entreprendra dès son retour les pourparlers né[illegible] de la conclusion avec la France d'un traité d'amitié de conciliation [illegible]

Nous avons la conviction que cette entente et la conclusion de ce traité seront de nature à renforcer la sécurité qui s'établira sur les frontières, à donner une sécurité toute particulière aux relations des deux pays et que vous serez satisfaits de ces résultats.

Notre Ministre à Athènes, qui doit rejoindre son poste, commencera immédiatement les pourparlers avec le Gouvernement hellénique pour la conclusion du traité d'amitié et d'arbitrage dont la base a été déjà décidée.

Nous avons le ferme désir d'entretenir toujours avec notre proche voisine des relations sûres et dépourvues de toute friction.

Quant aux lignes essentielles des questions que nous venons de résoudre :

Pour la frontière turco-syrienne le tracé qui a été adopté d'un commun accord tient compte des travaux entrepris par la commission chargée d'étudier la question de la délimitation ainsi que des nécessités de la sécurité de la Turquie dans ces [illegible]

Pour la question d'échange nous avons accepté, comme je vous l'ai déjà dit [illegible] questions et les propositions que les présidents neutres de la Commission mixte [illegible] prenant du contact et des pourparlers des deux Gouvernements.

En ce qui concerne la question du chemin de fer, un accord de principe est déjà intervenu et nous sommes en train de préparer les [illegible] échanges avec [illegible]

E 2924/90/44 No. 65.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 254.)

Sir,

Angora, June 4, 1929.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Grand National Assembly rose on the 3rd instant for its summer vacation. The Prime Minister took the opportunity [illegible] I may say, he received not merely an unanimous vote of confidence but an [illegible] sentimental appeals to patriotic feeling and [illegible] modern Turkish, that while the [illegible] precise meaning.

2. In reviewing foreign relations Ismet Pasha spoke of the many questions which Turkey had cleared up in the last five years in a series of foreign treaties. She was a factor of peace in the world. Her policy was to refrain from making unjust claims on others and to seek arbitration when unjust claims were pressed on herself. Under this peaceful policy she was progressing. She was about to start negotiations for new commercial treaties.

3. Turning to [illegible] Pasha [illegible] that, thanks to peaceful con[illegible] Turkish [illegible] Government had no intention of [illegible] foreign [illegible] for a State [illegible] After a lapse of seven years [illegible] prospects [illegible] Government [illegible] to pay the lessons of the past, and it believed in being prepared for eventualities.

4. Ismet Pasha's remarks about foreign financial help had been preceded by [illegible] the [illegible] official organ "Milliet" at the beginning of last [illegible] Mahmud Bey wrote that foreign capital was certainly necessary and that it was all nonsense to say that the Turkish Government was not well disposed to it. A fortnight later the Finance Minister stated to the press that Turkey welcomed foreign capital provided that it had no political flavour. These three declarations taken together with the more sympathetic official attitude which two local British enterprises—the Adin Railway and the Constantinople Telephone Company—have encountered lately may indicate that, having settled its liabilities and feeling the pinch more and more, the Turkish Government has begun to think seriously about a loan.

5. In the last few weeks the Assembly has voted laws of a certain importance. One—known commonly as the "barème" law—attempts to systematise all official salaries by dividing them into categories and consolidating them. It is admitted

that the scheme is far from perfect but it is clear that it remedies the inadequacy of the old salaries as far as is compatible with the Government's resources. Pensions it is hoped to deal with in a few years time. The pay of army officers of junior rank has also been put on an increased scale. Another recent law affects the general administration of the country, and is ostensibly a measure of decentralisation designed to confer a measure of independence on the commune (kaza) and village. A third measure lately adopted is the amnesty for persons charged with or convicted of minor offences. This was proclaimed on the occasion of the introduction of the new code of penal procedure, so that the courts and prisons start fair. Fifteen thousand out of 21,000 condemned persons were said to benefit by it, and householders in Pera complain that its effect was discernible at once in a resumption of burglary.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2926/92/44.] No. 66.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 255.)
Angora, June 4, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report that I arrived at Angora on the 1st instant and saw the Minister for Foreign Affairs the same afternoon.

2. Apart from one or two current questions, which I have recorded in other despatches, the interview was mostly monopolised by Tevfik Rushdi Bey in expressions of satisfaction at the settlement of his difficult negotiations with France and Greece and in speculations as to the changes that might be expected in consequence of the elections in Great Britain.

3. His Excellency confirmed what my French colleague had told me in the morning that the questions of the Syrian frontier and the Mersin-Adana Railway were definitely settled to the satisfaction of both parties. I was interested to hear from my French colleague that throughout the discussions Tevfik Rushdi Bey had continually said that all that Turkey wished from France was the same treatment as she had got from England. I hope to hear later from the Minister for Foreign Affairs that when, at the most critical point of the negotiations, M. Chamberlain had said "Well, what do you really want?" his Excellency had replied: "The treatment the English have given us." I should add that it was not only on the Turkish side that we apparently set the standard. M. Chamberlain told Mr. Roberts that after he had gone to the limit of conciliation and saw no prospect of success he decided to negotiate "à la Lausanne," with immediate and highly satisfactory results.

4. The Minister for Foreign Affairs said that the discussions with Greece were at last on the verge of a satisfactory conclusion and his statement was confirmed to me at the King's birthday party yesterday, both by the Greek Minister and by M. Rivas Vicuna, the neutral President of the Greco-Turkish Mixed Exchange Commission. None the less, I rather gathered that, though the main fences have been successfully negotiated, there are still one or two minor obstacles to be cleared away before everything is finally settled.

5. But the greater part of his Excellency's time was taken up with his speculations about the development of foreign policy in London. On the whole, he did not foresee any likelihood of striking changes, and expressed his confidence that, in any case, the satisfactory developments of our friendly relations with Turkey would suffer no set-back, an opinion which I ventured to confirm.

6. Throughout the interview his Excellency was so profuse in expressions of gratitude and of the growth of that friendliness that I was in momentary expectation of some concrete request but nothing material emerged. I think that his Excellency's observations were given in the exhaustion and satisfaction at having settled his Eastern and Greek problems, and he had just left the National Assembly in order to scrutinise after a long speech on Turkey's foreign relations, which had been greeted with outbursts of applause that were still ringing in his ears.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2927/189/44.] No. 67.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 259.)
Angora, June 4, 1929.

Sir,

WITH reference to my despatches No. 239 of the 29th May last and No. 256 of to-day, I have the honour to submit some further information in regard to the contract for the supply of warships to Turkey.

2. A member of my staff had yesterday a long interview with Mr. Leveson, of the firm of Armstrong Vickers, from which it appears that the terms of payment offered to the Turkish Government included terms of instalments gradually rising to payments of £250,000 sterling. In order to obtain a rebate of 40 per cent. per annum before delivery, Messrs. Armstrong Vickers would have had to postpone delivery until two payments of £250,000 had been made.

3. If the Turkish Government were not prepared to allow delivery to be postponed for a period of twenty-eight months, at which time only one payment of £250,000 would have been made, and so that Messrs. Armstrong Vickers should be [illegible] to meet the Turkish Government's conditions of payment and delivery, it was therefore necessary that they should be able to discount the Turkish Treasury bonds for the first payment of £250,000 to be made *after* the period of twenty-eight months. This they tried to do through the Ottoman Bank, one of the board of which is a director of Messrs. Armstrong Vickers, but they met with a refusal from the London [illegible].

4. [illegible] asked whether the Ish Bankasi had been approached, Mr. Leveson replied [illegible] and not, as it was not thought that they could discount so large a quantity of bonds. It was pointed out that railway contractors were in the habit of discounting their Government bonds through the Ish Bankasi, and there seemed no reason why Messrs. Armstrong Vickers could not do the same. Indeed, I might have pointed that the Ish Bankasi, which is the Government bank, obviously could not refuse to discount their own Government's bonds.

5. I am informed that Messrs. Armstrong Vickers' price was £100,000 lower than that of their Italian competitor, and that the Turkish Government would have preferred to place the order with the British firm. It appears probable, therefore, that this large contract was lost in part through lack of support from the Ottoman Bank in London and in part through the fact that, having failed to obtain the necessary financial support from this bank, the firm did not seek it in another, and somewhat obvious, direction.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[E 2930/479/44.] No. 68.

Sir G. Clerk to Sir Austen Chamberlain.—(Received June 10.)

(No. 263.)
Constantinople, June 5, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 29th May last a law was voted by the Grand National Assembly authorising the Minister of Finance to contract loans up to a total of £T. 240 million for the construction of railways and ports and for irrigation works.

2. As long ago as February last year, Tewfik Rushdi Bey informed me that the Government attached the greatest importance to irrigation and that it was proposed to undertake an extensive programme of land drainage and irrigation works. It was intended to devote the sum of £T. 250 million to this purpose, to be spread over a period of twenty years, and, although the cost would bear heavily on the Turkish Treasury, it was considered that a profitable return on the outlay would eventually be forthcoming.

3. The law of the 29th May does not, however, provide for so ambitious a programme, at least as far as irrigation works are concerned, and the total sum of £T. 240 million is to be distributed as follows:—

(*a*.) Railways, £T. 95 million. This sum will be devoted to the construction of the following railways:—

	Kilom.
Sivas–Erzindjan–Erzerum	520
Ada Bazar–Bolu–Bayindir	255
Filios–Heraclea	70

(*b*.) The sum of £T. 45 million is to be devoted to the construction of ports at Mersin, Samsoun and Heraclea, and of breakwaters at Trebizond, Amasra and Ineboli. Of this amount, £T. 17 million is earmarked for the port of Mersin, £T. 13 million for the port of Samsun and £T. 10 million for the port of Heraclea; the remaining £T. 5 million is intended to cover the construction of the three breakwaters mentioned above.

(*c*.) It will be observed, therefore, that it is intended to expend the balance of £T. 100 million on irrigation works, particularly in the following districts:—

Brusa (Nilufer and Susurlu Rivers).
Smyrna (Meander and Gediz Rivers).
Adana and Tarsus (Seyhan and Djihan Rivers).
Angora–Eski-Shehir (Sakaria River).
Bafra–Kastamuni (Kizil Irmak).
Samsun (Yeshil Irmak).
Eastern Provinces (Euphrates and Tigris Rivers).
Thrace (Maritza).

4. The budget for the current financial year makes no provision, with the exception of £T. 80,000 for the breakwaters at Ineboli and Amasra, for any of these projected undertakings.

5. In the course of the parliamentary debate, when the law of the 29th May was submitted to the Assembly, the Minister of Public Works expressed the hope that the construction of the Erzerum–Sivas Railway would be started in 1930, and he added that the construction of the other railway lines and of the ports would depend entirely on the credits available in future budgets.

6. In this connexion it is of interest to examine the existing commitments of the Government in regard to railway construction. In round figures the following must be set aside during the current financial year:—

	£T. million.
Swedish group	18
German group	5
Lines under Government construction	10
Total	33

7. The amount allocated to railways in the budget for the financial year 1929–30 provides for £T. 28,200,000 only, a deficit of £T. 4,800,000 which must be met by the railway and port administration. This being the case, it is extremely doubtful whether any surplus money will be available during the present financial year which would permit of any part of the projected scheme of construction being put into execution. This doubt is accentuated by the fact that, during the current financial year, the Turkish Government will be obliged to implement its agreement in regard to the Public Debt. In previous budgets a sum was regularly set aside for the service of the Public Debt and, just as regularly, the sum in question was spent in other ways, but this financial transaction can no longer be accomplished.

8. Beginning with the financial year 1931–32, the budget of the Railways and Ports Department will be considerably lightened by the fact that the construction of the Cæsarea–Sivas Railway, which has been undertaken by the Government itself, will have been completed. This will represent an annual reduction in expenditure of £T. 5 million. Moreover, as from the same financial year, the annual sum to be paid to the Swedish group will decrease by £T. 3 million. In 1932 the Government will have completed the Samsun–Sivas line, which will set free a further sum of

£T. 5 million. The construction of the Kutahia–Balikesser and Chi Kishla–Cæsarea lines, undertaken by the German group Julius Berger, will be finished in 1930 and 1931 respectively, but the cost of these lines will be spread over the three successive financial years.

9. The law of the 29th May stipulates that the receipts of the tobacco, match and spirit monopolies (estimated at £T. 31,850,000) shall continue to be paid into the Agricultural Bank to cover Government bonds which have been, or may be, issued in connexion with public works undertakings. Provision is also made for the abrogation of existing laws relative to the construction of the ports of Mersin and Samsun, but no mention is made of a clause in the budget law of 1925 which authorised the expenditure of £T. 50 million on the construction of a railway from Trebizond to Erzerum. It is to be presumed, therefore, that this authorisation still holds good.

10. The projected extension of the Government's existing programme of railway construction is no doubt greatly to be desired both from the military and economic points of view, whilst port construction and irrigation works are a vital necessity to agriculture and commerce, but I am unable to see, under present conditions, where the Government is to find the money required for these undertakings. The sum of £T. 240 million, even if spread over a considerable number of years, represents a considerable addition to the heavy burden of Government expenditure, so that unless a long-term credit can be obtained, which will, in any case, entail the payment of interest, I see no possibility of the programme being carried out until the existing annual charges on the budget of the Ministry of Public Works have been materially reduced.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

(E 3079/92/44) No. 69

Sir P. Loraine to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 18.)

(No. 155. Confidential.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Athens, June 17, 1929.*

I AM authorised by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to inform you that he now considers the Greco-Turkish negotiations to have a better prospect of success. Both the Prime Minister and himself are bent on reaching a settlement if this be possible without loss of honour.

The fortnight's delay caused by the change of Government at Athens has not, his Excellency notes with satisfaction, been turned by the Turks to their own advantage. He confirms my impression that both parties have now arrived at a common basis for discussion, and realises that sacrifices must be made by Greece and that the Government will be attacked in consequence. They are however, prepared to justify these sacrifices provided complete agreement is obtained which will leave no issues undecided and no opening for future misunderstanding and dissension, so far as may be humanly possible.

Such considerations inspire the latest instructions given to the Greek delegates, who are returning to Angora immediately, and Minister for Foreign Affairs thinks that he should learn in about a week's time whether agreement may be expected.

I thought it incumbent, at this clearly important stage in the negotiations, to ask the Minister for Foreign Affairs for information on the assumption that His Majesty's Government, while maintaining as heretofore their policy of non-intervention, were deeply interested in the conclusion of a mutually satisfactory agreement in view of their intense desire for general pacification.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary for me to ask whether you approve my action.

(Copy Constantinople 23rd June by bag.)

[E 3222/86/44]

No. 70.

Sir G. Clerk to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 24.)

(No. 274.)

Constantinople, June 20, 1929.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy* of the estimates of revenue and expenditure of the Turkish Government for the financial year 1929–30.

2. Revenue is estimated at £ T. 220,546,000 as against £ T. 207,173,199 for the financial year 1928–29, an increase of £ T. 13,372,801. Expenditure is estimated at £ T. 220,408,481 as against £ T. 207,169,388 for the financial year 1928–29, but supplementary votes during the past financial year increased the total of expenditure to £ T. 216,093,069, so that the real increase in expenditure in 1929–30 £ T. 4,315,412.

3. It will be seen from these estimates that the Minister of Finance has once again presented a balanced budget to the Assembly; the estimates, in fact, provide for a surplus of £ T. 137,519.

4. In order to establish a true conception of Turkish public finances it is necessary to make an examination of past budgets. The first budgets drawn up were remarkable from the fact that they showed heavy deficits, but from the enclosures to my despatch No. 244 of the 29th May, 1929, it will have been observed that the actual results of the Government's financial administration bore but little resemblance to the estimates, and in practice a drastic scaling down of expenditure and a larger yield from taxation than had been anticipated combined to maintain the financial equilibrium.

5. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the financial year 1926–27, the budget deficit of the previous year, together with outstanding debts, amounted to about £ T. 40 million and no budgetary provision was made to cover this sum, but a general reduction in departmental expenditure during the period in question and the non-utilisation of the credit for Public Debt enabled the Turkish Treasury to effect economies amounting to £ T. 32 million. This process was repeated, in a lesser degree, in succeeding budgets, with the result that the estimates for the current financial year present, for the first time, a true picture of the finances of the Government, and the balance between expenditure and revenue is a true balance and not a specious display of financial window dressing. Provision is made, in the attached estimates, for the debts amounting to about £ T. 2 million, inherited from the previous financial year.

6. The estimated increase in revenue of £ T. 13,372,801 is to be derived mainly from the following sources:—

	Increase. £ T.
House property	2,550,000
Cattle	2,497,000
Customs duties	4,000,000
Stamp duties	2,900,000
Tobacco monopoly	2,000,000

The estimated increase in customs duties is, of course, based on the impending application of the new tariffs which were voted on the 1st June last. An increase in the tax on house property is responsible for the greater yield under this heading. The annual tax on wooden houses, mills and factories which have been registered and assessed under the law of the 14th June, 1926, is now fixed at 13 per cent. of the gross annual rental and at 17 per cent. on stone or brick buildings, whereas the tax previously applied was 9 per cent. and 12 per cent. respectively. Moreover, the assessment of gross annual rental has been doubled in the case of dwelling-house property. On the other hand, the "centimes additionnels" levied on behalf of vilayets, education, &c., have now been included in the revised tax, so that the increase is not so large as it would at first appear to be. The tax on house property not registered under the law of 1926 has also been increased.

7. The land tax has been raised from 48 per cent. to 65 per cent. of the cadastral value, but as the "centimes additionnels" are now included in the new tax the incidence of the tax remains practically unchanged.

* Not printed.

8. A more serious feature of the new budget, in so far as it affects foreign capital invested in this country, is the increase in the profits tax. As far as employees are concerned, the tax is now fixed at 7 per cent. on the first £ T. 100 of monthly salary and at 9 per cent. for the salary in excess of £ T. 100. Previously the amount collected was 4 per cent. and 5 per cent. respectively, to which were added contributions on behalf of vilayets, municipalities, capitation and education, amounting in all to 65 per cent. of the profits tax itself. For the sake of example, an employee earning £ T. 200 per month will now be liable to tax as follows:—

New law—		
7 per cent. of £ T. 100	= £ T. 7	
9 " " 100	= " 9	
	—	£ T. 16·00
Old law—		
4 per cent. of £ T. 100	= £ T. 4	
5 " " 100	= " 5	
65 " " 9	= " 5·75	
	—	£ T. 14·75
Increase		£ T. 1·25

As regards the tax on the profits of firms, substantial increases are made, as will be seen from the following tables:—

(a.) *Tax Assessed on Net Profits.*

New law.	Old law.		
12 per cent.	6 per cent.	(+ 65 per cent. of this amount)	on profits up to £ T. 5,000.
15 "	8 "	(ditto)	on profits from £ T. 5,001 to £ T. 10,000.
20 "	10 "	(ditto)	" " 10,001 " 20,000.
25 "	12 "	(ditto)	" " 20,001 " 50,000.
30 "	15 "	(ditto)	on profits over £ T. 50,000.

Thus, on an annual net profit of £ T. 55,000, the difference in taxation is as follows:—

New law—		
12 per cent. on £ T 5,000 ...	= £ T. 600	
15 " " 5,000 ...	= " 750	
20 " " 10,000 ...	= " 2,000	
25 " " 30,000 ...	= " 7,500	
30 " " 5,000 ...	= " 1,500	
		£ T. 12,350
Old law—		
6 per cent. on £ T. 5,000 ...	= £ T. 300	
8 " " 5,000 ...	= " 400	
10 " " 10,000 ...	= " 1,000	
12 " " 30,000 ...	= " 3,600	
15 " " 5,000 ...	= " 750	
	£ T. 6,050	
+ 65 per cent. ...	" 3,932·50	
		£ T 9,982·50
Increase		£ T. 2,367·50

(b.) *Tax Assessed on Gross Profits.*

New law.	Old law.	
7 per cent.	3 per cent.	on profits up to £ T. 3,000.
8 "	4 "	on profits from £ T. 3,001 to £ T. 10,000.
10 "	5 "	" " 10,001 " 20,000.
12 "	6 "	" " 20,001 " 50,000.
15 "	7·5 "	on profits over £ T. 50,000.

Thus, on an annual gross profit of £ T. 55,000, the difference in taxation is as follows:—

New law—			
7 per cent. on £ T. 3,000	= £ T. 210		
8 " " 7,000	= " 560		
10 " " 10,000	= " 1,000		
12 " " 30,000	= " 3,600		
15 " " 5,000	= " 750		
			£ T. 6,120
Old law—			
3 per cent. on £ T. 3,000	= £ T. 90		
4 " " 7,000	= " 280		
5 " " 10,000	= " 500		
6 " " 30,000	= " 1,800		
7·5 " " 5,000	= " 375		
	£ T. 3,045		
+ 65 per cent. ...	" 1,979·25		
			£ T. 5,024·25
Increase			£ T. 1,095·75

(c.) *Tax levied on Limited Liability Companies.*

The tax levied on dividends is increased to 11 per cent.; it was formerly 6 per cent., plus "centimes additionnels," representing 65 per cent. of the tax. Thus, in the case of a company paying out £ T. 55,000 in dividends, the tax under the new assessment amounts to £ T. 6,050 as against £ T. 5,445 under the old assessment, an increase of £ T. 605.

9. In the estimates for the current financial year the yield from the profits tax remains unchanged as compared to the preceding year; possibly the yield during the past year was below the estimate, or, on the other hand, it may not be possible to reap the full benefit of the increased taxation until the financial year 1930–31.

10. The total estimates of revenue have thus increased from £ T. 111,210,000 in 1923–24 to £ T. 220,510,000 in 1929–30, an increase of nearly 100 per cent. This result has been due, unfortunately, rather to the increase of existing taxes or the application of new ones than to any development in national prosperity, and it may be considered that the high-water mark of taxation has now been reached. Agriculture, industry and commerce are not strong enough to support with safety any further burdens, and it would have been in the best interests of the country to have lightened the load of the taxpayer.

11. As regards expenditure, the distribution of departmental credits shows no marked deviation from the provision of previous budgets.

Expenditure has been distributed in the following manner:—

	Per cent.
National Defence	31·4
Public Works	15·3
Finance	7·0
Public Debt—	
(a.) External Debt	6·2
(b.) Pensions	5·8
(c.) Railway portfolio	1·9
(d.) Interior loans	0·7
Gendarmerie	4·0
National Economy	3·8
Public Instruction	3·7
Justice	3·3
Other Departments	16·9
Total	100·0

The principal criticism that can be passed on the budget on the side of expenditure is the wholly insufficient allocation to agriculture, which by a curious anomaly in an essentially agricultural country, does not even possess a Ministry of its own. Neither the Ministry of National Economy nor the Agricultural Bank is in a position to render any effective aid to agriculture, whilst in the domain of public works practically the whole of the money available is being spent on strategic and uneconomic railways, and any serious attempt to solve the vital problem of irrigation has apparently been postponed until the Greek calends.

I have, &c.
GEORGE R. CLERK.

[J 1832/56/16] No. 71.

Sir G. Clerk (No. 5) to Lord Lloyd (Cairo).—(Repeated to Foreign Office; Received June 28.)

(No. 52.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, June 28, 1929.*

YOUR despatch No. 403 to Foreign Office.

Minister for Foreign Affairs is much perturbed by Mixed Court of Appeal's decision that Mixed Courts are not competent to deal with suit between Egyptian Government or subjects and a Turk.

I have heard that Turkish Minister at Cairo, who has been summoned to Angora, has been implying that British influence is responsible for this decision. Minister for Foreign Affairs said nothing of this nature to me, but he asked me if I could give him any explanation or any information which would help him to decide on action which he must now take.

I presume I can only say that Mixed Court of Appeal is an independent organ of Egyptian Government over which neither the Residency nor His Majesty's Government have any control, and that it is only the Egyptian Government which can give his Excellency the information or explanation.

I should, however, be glad to learn whether a British judge was included in the court that gave the decision.

Minister for Foreign Affairs said that, subject to any information I could give him myself or obtain from you, he was thinking of putting the case to the Powers signatory to the Treaty of Lausanne, and meanwhile he proposed to keep his Minister in Cairo at Angora.

I should be grateful for a reply, if possible, before Monday evening, when I go to Angora for one day.

[E 3298/92/44] No. 72.

Sir P. Loraine to Mr. A. Henderson.—(Received June 29.)

(No. 168.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Athens, June 29, 1929.*

MY telegram No. 158.

Alleged capitulation to Turkish *émigrés* is already being made pretext for attacks on Government, who have explained their policy to a committee of party leaders and elder statesmen which has recently been formed.

I have been informed personally and confidentially by the Minister for Foreign Affairs that the basis of Government policy, which is to "organise peace with Turkey," has been unanimously approved by this committee, which has further approved in the main the means agreed to by the Government to secure the end in view. Sacrifices even greater than those decided on three weeks previously have been included in the most recent instructions to the Greek delegates. The Government feel obliged, however, to set a limit to such sacrifices, and in a telegram to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs has stated that Greek public opinion will not tolerate any further concession, and that the Government are already being attacked even in their own press.

(Copy to Constantinople by bag.)

[J 1860/56/16] No. 73

Lord Lloyd (No. 62) to Sir G. Clerk (Constantinople).—(Repeated to Foreign Office; Received June 30.)

(No. 243.)
(Telegraphic.) P. *Cairo, June 30, 1929.*

YOU are entirely correct in the reply suggested in paragraph 4 of your telegram No. 5. The particular judgment was given in full court of sixteen judges (of whom only three British). In effect it confirms previous judgments given in 1926 and even earlier on appeal.

The reason underlying this judgment was, I am given to understand, that the Turks could not logically be allowed to avail themselves of courts set up under Capitulations originally granted and finally abolished by themselves.

As far as my own attitude goes, I must disclaim having used any influence upon the court, but if you wish to say something to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, you may care to explain that I was genuinely desirous that the few nationals of European non-capitulatory countries should not be excluded from the benefits of a jurisdiction which had hitherto been accorded them in practice. As for the Turks, however, I could not feel the same solicitude, since their position under previous judgments was quite different. If the Turkish Minister had mentioned the matter to me on any occasion, I should have been very pleased to point this out.

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